

# A Modell<sup>A</sup> and rea<sup>7</sup>

*sonable examination, of some things in  
vse in the Church of England, sundrie times here-  
tofore misliked, and now lately, in a Booke called the  
(Plea of the Innocent :) and an Assertion for true and Christian  
Church policy, made for a full satisfaction to all those, that  
are of iudgement, and not possessed with a preiudice a-  
gainst this present Church Gouvernment, wherein the  
principall poynts are fully, and peaceably answered,  
which seeme to bee offensive in the Ecclesiasti-  
call State of this Kingdome.*

*The Contentes whereof are set downe in the Page  
following.*

*By William Couell, Doctor of Diuinitie:*

Ecclef. Chap. 3. 1.

The children of wisdome are the Church of the righteous, and  
their offspring is obedience, and loue.



AT LONDON,

Printed for Clement Knight, and are to be  
*solde at his shop at the Signe of the booke*

Lambe in Saint Pauls Churchyard.

1604.

- 1 **K**ings and Princes haue authoritie, and ought to haue  
care, for the Church gouernment. page. 1
- 2 The Church visible of all other Societies is fittest to haue a  
Discipline, but neuer the same that some men desire. page. 13
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- 13 Of publike prayer, and of the defectes supposed to be in the  
Liturgie of the Church of England. pag. 174
- 14 Of Toleration of diuers Religions, and how farre dissenting  
opiniions from the true Christian faith, may and ought to bee  
permitted in one and the same Kingdome. pag. 196
- 15 An humble conclusion to his sacred Maiestie and the Right  
Honorable Lords of his Highnesse priuie Councill, together  
with the rest whom it may concerne to defend this Church.  
page. 206

*Deo omnis Potestas & Gloria.*





To the Right Honourable  
and most Reuerend father in God &c.  
my verie good Lord, the Lord Bishop  
of LONDON.  
(\*)

**T**He word (Right honorable)  
is in great trauell with  
much euill, & when she shall  
be deliuered he onely know-  
eth who measureth al times  
with his hand, and before  
whose eye lieth open that bottomlesse eternitie  
it selfe. The faces of Kingdomes and States ac-  
cording to the prosperitie and aduersitie of the  
Church amongst them sometimes looke beauti-  
ty and sometimes chearfully as refreshed with  
more good. Man whose Reason and Religion  
serueth to number these things seeleth in him-  
selfe

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

selfe a true diuinitie manifested by that pure ambition of being greater than hee yet can bee; whilst notwithstanding in the sence and feare of these things hee stoopeth as to a burthen that is too beauiue. Religious and mature wisdome (the safest builders of true greatnesse) assureth men in prouidence to preuent the worst things or at least by foresight growing familiar with the teacheth how to beare them with much patience; fewe Kingdomes there are which haue not eyther more scarres in the Church not fully cured or else greater signes of greater insuing euils than our owne. I am loth to be thought to flatter (a fault whereunto I am not vsually subiect and a thing needlesse, being the greatest hatred from the greatest loue which euerie beareth to himselfe;) but I may say truly, and I doubt not but what I say the world thinketh, the greatest part of this good (next our dread Soueraigne) is now (without enuie bee it spoken) your owne. The consideration whereof hath made me out of that infinite loue and duty which I owe to his Grace being dead, and your Honour yet aliuie to dedicate these labours to you both, in the desence of that Church, which truth, experience, & her aduersaries haue proued (for gouernment) the most absolute since the Apostles

The late Lord  
Archbishop of  
Canterbure.

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

*Apostles time. That it is undertaken by me is the greatest disadvantage to this cause; that it is continued and daily receiveth strength from authority is amongst infinite blessings the greatest and most unspeakable of this Church. I haue dealt (as your Honour well knoweth) in this cause with a threefold disadvantage, one, that it hath so fully beene handled by so many of great learning heretofore, so that at this time a defence was rather requisite to tell those that hope for alteration that our Church is still of the same iudgement, and spake not heretofore onely to please that State; a second is, that the things disliked are not differences of any great learning, seeing wee deale with aduersaries whose chiefe hope dependeth upon the allowance of vnlearned followers; so that Demonstrations of reason are more requisite than proofes from authoritie. Last of all, they are a generation apt and skilfull to speake euill, I haue carefully and according to my naturall disposition auoided all occasion that might prouoke them to it, yet I looke for no other, neither by the grace of God (so that this paines may benefit the Church) do I much care; the strongest tyrant of things and men is fancy; the truest gouernour Religion, hallowed follies when they*

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

are *unmasked* are but at the best the weake opinions of simple men; of whom (notwithstanding) if they had learned humilitie and obedience, this Church might haue much use; your Lordship is (besides that particular duty and thankfulness which I owe vnto you) executor of his Testament and Inheritour of his vertues that was the true owner and possessor of these labours; which if it please your Honour to accept with their *unworthie* Author into your more priuate and inward affection, It shall bee my happinesse to be your seru-  
uant and their credit by your Lordships meanes to doe service to this Church. Thus in the assurance of this hope crauing pardon for my boldnesse, I humbly take my leaue: desiring God to blese you with all Graces fit for so high a place, and with contentment and long life to my singular comfort, and the especiall benefit of this Church. May 27. 1604.

Your Lordships in all dutie,

WILLIAM COVELL.



F the immoderate desire of reformation in some men had not extended it selfe further than eyther Religion or reason would wel permit, and especially at that time when thankfulness exacted from vs all something like a Sabbath for that blessed Rest continued to this Church by the meanes of our dread Souereigne this cause and some others not yet published had with their vnworthy authors slept in a long and a charitable silence, and whereas the miraculous blessings bestowed and continued vpon this land could no otherwise rightly be vnderstood, than the true effectes of that Church which was planted in it (seeing as S. Ambrose saith: That is Charitie to be expected, that is Charitie greater than the Empire, if that faith bee inuiolate which preserveth the Empire.) I thought it not to let these men vnderstand that the peace of this Church was little beholding to their paines, who in the midst of an vniuersall ioy sounded a seditious Alarum to a second warre which as it could be no lesse than inconsiderate Zeale in some of the Tribe of Levi to drawe their swords against their Reuerend Religious Fathers as if with Aaton they had benee gultie of erecting a Golden Calf: so we hope, in the opinion of the most seuerer, our defence shall neither be thought needlesse, nor out of season; wherein peradventure our labour is of lesse vse, because we encounter in particular men of no greate authoritie in this Church, whom our directions were first to haue answered in another manner, but finding that to follow their steps had benee onely but to tread often in the same pathes which were wearisome in themselves and could haue brought little aduantage to this publike cause, we rather resolved (hauiug the approbation of authoritie to giue allowance) to defend a necessary, weighty, righteous and publike Church government, than onely to reprove and confute some particular obscure, and priuate men; for accusing gaineth not that admittance in the eares of indifferent Readers, which defending doth, and herein I may safely protest I looked at no other scope in the labour and cost of this vnpleasing employment than the discharge of my particular dutie, and the performance of that seruice which I owed vnto this Church, & yet if I had known which I vnderstand since that some more of Master Hookers works had bene recovered from the iniurie of men and time once againe to speake in the defence of this truth, I woul. most willingly haue obserued the præcept of the Sonne of Sirach: Thou that art yong speake if need be, and yet fearely when thou art twice asked: for the same things (but who is able to speake the same things that he did?) being spoken by diuers are not the same, and for my selfe if any man thinke this defence a presumption, I may boldly say as Elshu did, Behold I did wait vpon the words of the auncient and hearkened to their knowledge. But seeing wee are children of that Church whose prosperitie was enuied and peace hindered by the aduersaries of this cause, wee could not but let them vnderstand that the voyces of Angels, of men

*Hæc est charitas  
expellenda, hæc  
est charitas ma-  
ior imperio, si  
fides iuta sit qua  
seruas imperium.  
Ambrose. ep. 31.  
ad Valentinianū.  
The Assertion  
for Church  
policie.*

*Eccles. 31.*

*Iob. 31.*

**Iofua. 22. 16.**  
**17.**

**Verf. 23.**

men and of time and all againſt them ; and if wee were in the comparifon of them ( as they boalt of number ) but like the children of *Ruben* and the children of  *Gad*, and the Tribe of *Manaſſes* in reſpect of all *Iſraell* beſides, yet if they will needes ſend vs a meſſage by *Phyneas* the ſonne of *Eleazar* and ten Princes with him ſaying : *What tranſgreſſion is this that ye haue tranſgreſſed againſt the God of Iſraell to turne away this day from the Lord in that ye haue builte you an Altar for to rebell this day againſt the Lord ? Haue wee too little for the wickedneſſe of Peor whereof wee are not cleaſed this day though a plague came vpon the congregation of the Lord ? Wee muſt aunſwere them as they did : The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and Iſraell himſelfe ſhall know, if by rebellion or by tranſgreſſion againſt the Lord we haue done it, ſaue thou vs not this day. If wee haue builte vs an Altar to returne away from the Lord either to offer burnt offerings or meat offerings, or to offer peace offerings thereon, let the Lord himſelfe require it. And if wee haue not rather done it for feare of this thing, &c. vnto verſ. 30. Wee hope they will giue vs leaue if their Zeale make them iealous of any thing vſed or admitted, in our Church, to tell them that theſe are witneſſes betwixt them and vs. &c. Betweene our forefathers, and our generations after vs to execute the ſeruice of the Lord before him, in our Lyturgie, in our prayers, in our Sacraments, and that neither their children, nor the children of any Idolatrous Church ſhould ſay to our children in time to come, *Yee haue no part in the Lord* : and if for all this they ceaſe not the heape reproaches vpon that Church, whoſe abſolute gouernment they ought with thankfulneſſe to imbrace, and with loue to honour, we muſt tell them as *Saint Hierom* doth that amongeſt Chriſtians not he that ſuffereth, but he that offereth reproach is wretched. Wherein ſurely of all that euer laboured in this cauſe, he endured moſt, & with moſt patience, whom vertue crown'd with much Honour in this life, and according to his owne prophetically word ( ouercame whileſt he ſuffered ) and now triumpheth. And for my ſelfe ( Gentle Reader ) I reſolue humbly to endure whatſoeuer it pleaſeth the vſuall impatience of their furie to lay vpon mee, ſaying with *Saint Auſten*, In a good conſcience I ſpeake it, *Hee that willingly doth detract from my good name unwillingly doth add to my reward.* For I lay with *Saint Ambroſe*, Let no man thinke that there is more weight in the ſlaunder of another, than in the teſtimonie of his owne conſcience. Farewell.*

*Apud Chriſtianos non qui patitur, ſed qui facit contumeliam miſer eſt. Hier. Vicit qui patitur.*  
*In bona ſcientia teneo, quiſquis volens detrahit ſama mea, nolens addit mercedi mee.*  
*Ne aſtinet qui plus ponderis eſſe in alieno conuiſio quam in teſtimonio ſuo.*  
*Ambroſe.*



CHAP. I.

*Kings and Princes haue Authoritie, and ought  
to haue care for the Church gouernment.*



Where right hath no other aduan-  
tage but Fortune, and Weaknesse  
hath got strength from opinion of  
Zeale, there it is no lesse safe to  
maintaine error, than amongst bet-  
ter dispositions to defend a truth.  
The Circle of time, the best disco-  
uerer of mens secret ends (and not  
the least, nor the least violent circumstance ouer the means)  
must at length make knowne to the weakeſt eye that is  
able to diſcerne leaſt, who haue beene thought wicked and  
prophane in humilitie for maintayning a truth; and who  
proudly haue beene opposites to this end, that being  
ignorant and vnhoneſt, they might bee thought to bee  
learned, and ſeeme righteous. As there is not any one ac-  
tion ſince the time that this Land firſt embraced true Reli-  
gion, wherein more violent and vnnaturall diſpoſitions,  
haue diſcouered themſelues, than in, and for the *Church  
gouernment*; ſo is there nothing wherein the *Wiſedome,  
Vertue, and Soueraigntie* of Kings, doth and ought more  
to appeare, than in the well ordering of that Societie,  
wherevnto the moſt vſuall and greateſt harmes haue com-



monly proceeded from too much Zeale : For that which man once apprehendeth as vertuous to bee done without great iudgement and moderation, hee seldome tempereth himselfe from doing it eyther ouer-eagerly, or ouermuch. This as it swayeth with Inferior persons, (who for the most part haue no easier and speedier meanes to become eminent) so it is hardly tempered in those Princes being eminent already, whose vertuous education hath made them religious; this being in one action to the people, the best assurance they can expect; for themselves, the best testimony of a good conscience; and toward God, a demeanour least vnthankfull for any straunge or miraculous deliuerance that they haue receiued. All these being made stronger, when a new people are become subjects; when all men are disposed to giue strength to their hopes; and make collection from *Signes*; and when deliuerances are seconded by the peaceable and happie access of a greater Kingdome. So that in this case (vnlesse to a minde that hath no Religion at all) it shall bee much harder to perswade a moderation than too little. For with righteous Kings, and of vnderstanding, as nothing is dearer than Religion; so in nothing they imploy their labour and authoritie more willingly, than for the preservation, and honouring of the Church it selfe; all kingdomes hauing no other safetie but this, *Their prosperitie to flourish for no longer time, than the prosperitie of the Church is maintained amongst them.* This being by all obseruation the truest signe of a decaying Kingdome, *To haue a Clergie vnhalloed, and the Church vnhonoured.* But whilest all men are carefull that the Church may bee well gouerned, euerie man obtrudeth his owne fancy, and liketh best of those Rules, which haue neereff affinitie with his owne brayne. Hence commeth it to passe, that some men are naturally resolved, to whom especially belongeth the Authoritie to prescribe (with warrant) the direct forme of the Church gouernment. Other offices for the attainment of this end (as to instruct, and to aduise) may in all reason, to make the burthen of gouernment both more vertuous and



and more easie, belong vnto other men; But to provide for the safetie of the *Church*, for the publicke enioying of the *Word* of God, for the *maner of government*, for the maintenance of the *Clergie*, all these (in a *strickt vnderstanding*) are the religious duties, and the honourable effects of the *King*, so that what authoritie is deriued vnto any, eyther in a blinde and false obedience to the *Sea of Rome*, or through a partiall affection to a new *Consistorie*, are both (if not equall) yet equally vsurpers of the *Kings* right. Nay whilest some of late haue beene earnest, though ignorant refusers of *Subscription*, they haue ihowed in their actions, how vncharitably they haue thought of their late *Souereigns* sincere *Religio*. For to mislike the *book of Orders* is indirectly to affirme that we haue no ministry (which some impudently shameles haue dared to affirme plainly:) not to subscribe to the *Booke of Common Prayer*, is to teach that we haue no forme of *Church Liturgie*: And lastly, to refuse to subscribe to the *Articles of Faith*, is to make men beleue, that our *Church* maintaineth vnfound doctrine. This as it was alleaged once by a Reuerend bishop in a Sermon, so it is an accusatio not yet cleered by any that I know; a by one it is slubbered ouer vnhandisomely, making the *Obiection* stronger than himselfe was able to answere truly: but this wee shall haue better occasion to confute hereafter. And it is too plaine what opinion they had of *Her Religion* (liuing) whom so boldly they dare depraue being once dead: But flattery looketh no further, than eyther to escape punishment, or receiue a benefit; so that when the one is past feare, and the other past hope, wee dare then speake what wee thinke, and more vnreuerently ostentimes of the same partie being a *Saint* in Heauen, than we durst being a *Prince* in earth. It were fit all men considered (but especially *Kings*, whose authoritie it doth secretly vndermine) how farre the admission of a *Consistoriall Government* in a kingdome may suddenly vsurpe vpon that right which *Scripture*, and *Lawes* haue ascribed to the *King*. That *Kings* ought to haue rule in all causes, ouer all persons, as it is warranted by the word,

<sup>a</sup> By *Iosias Nichols* in the Plea of the Innocent. Pag. 135.

so it is confirmed to the Princes of this Land by Act of *Parliament*. This giueth vnto them *Supremacy in Ecclesiasticall Government*, Exempteth from Inforcement of any Domestickall or forreigne power, and freeth them from the penaltie of those lawes, both *Ecclesiasticall* and *Ciwill*, whereunto all inferiour persons in a Kingdome are tyed. And howsoeuer sinnes in Princes ought to be reprocued, and *rights of Clayme* may be recouered against *Kings*, yet in nothing are they liable to penall lawes, much lesse subiect to the Iurisdiction of Elders, or Excommunication of this *Tyrannous Consistorie*. Vnhallowed bloudnesse attempted in other Kingdomes, and Imperionly affected and vrged by some amongst vs, nay the power to call *Synods* (an Authoritie by *Parliament* graunted vnto the Prince) some violent spirits haue attempted with that boldnesse, as if those only were Lawes, which were warranted by this *Consistorie*, (Princes being but to Execute what they appoint them out of Gods word,) whereof notwithstanding themselues must be only Iudges. Thus whilst the Prince, warranted by his owne *Law*, (which is the publike Act of his whole people) gaue Authority to some graue Commissioners for *Reformation of Ecclesiasticall* disorders, They denie that any such ought to be appointed Iudges and often both in priuate and publike, depraued that honorable and high *Commission*; a thing, as it is vnseemely for them to controule, so if our late *Souereigne* in great Wisedome, and care of the Church, had not giuen it authoritie and strength, the boldnesse of a great number, pretending a *Zeale*, had growen to bee so strong, that in all appearance, There had beene little likelihood of safety to the *Queene* her selfe. And seeing all attempts are most violent, that haue their beginning and strength from a *Zeale* to Religion, bee it neuer so false; there can be nothing (doubtles) of greater vse, either for the safetie of the *Prince*, the peace of the *Church*, or the quiet of the *Commonwealth*, than the seuer and Reuerend authoritie of this high *Commission*; without which assuredly long since we had miserably tasted of all those euilles, which

which vncontrouled ignorance, *Hypocrisie*, and crueltie  
 could haue brought amongst vs. It is small reason Princes  
 should giue eare vnto these plots, which leaue them naked  
 without meanes to defend themselues, or their Subiects  
 in the time of danger; nay, those of the honorable and  
 highe Court of *Parliament*, are to thinke themselues (and  
 I doubt not but will) iniured by such, who haue taken  
 from them on of the three *States* (a *State* not of the least  
 wisdome and grauitie) and from them all that Authori-  
 tie, which they ascribe to a number of ignorant and sillie  
 Artificers (for such some Consistories must needes bee) and  
 guided by a youth sometimes, neither of wisdome nor  
 vnderstanding. It is miserable where men are ruled by  
 no lawes, seeing nothing is in man of greater daunger,  
 (vnlimited) than his owne will, which imperiously com-  
 maundeth ouer his fancie, that is able to corrupt and per-  
 uert all *Rules of order*. Thus they interpret *Tell the*  
*Church, tell the Consistorie*; Which because *Iohn Morrell*  
 did expound otherwise, himselfe was excommunicated  
 and his Booke burnt: there is nothing more vsull, than  
 their pleasures to become Lawes; (A thing peraduenture  
 men may affect, which either desire Change, or do hate  
 gouernment, (but doubtles in it selfe Tyrannous and vn-  
 sufferable, and so much the more odious and daungerous,  
 by how much the *Rulers* are base, there gouernment lesse  
 equall, and once admitted, not easie to be shaken of. In  
 on word, There is nothing in the *Lawes* of this whole  
 Land, (nay not in the possession of any priuate persō) safe,  
 if this *Consistoriall Gouernment* may take place; the benefit  
 whereof as they magnifie (little weighing those yet vnex-  
 perienced Euils which must needes follow;) so the harmes  
 of it are at large set downe by diuers others, who with  
 learning and iudgment haue labored in this point. There  
 is doublelesse no *Societie* deerer vnto God than his *Church*;  
 in the gouernment whereof he hath made choice of *two*  
*sorts* of men to be employed vnder him; The *first* are *Mi-*  
*nisters* of his word, and *Sacraments*, whose calling is perpe-  
 tuall and necessary in the *Church*; for so long as the *Church*

is in this world, it cannot possible be continued without these: of which we shall more fitly speake hereafter. *The other* are *Kings* and *Magistrats*: whom to the happy estate of the *Church*, we hold with all reuerence, of such vse, that those are worst that mislike their gouernment, & that *Church* (in all reason) like to be most happy, which God, in his mercy, hath blessed with the best *King*. This appeareth in the *Kings* of *Iuda*, who being vertuous, *Religion* (that was decayed) was restored, and what the Idolatry of others had corrupted, the vprightnes of some which followed did purifie againe; God in his loue performing that promise vnto his *Church*, that *Kings* should be her *Nursings-fathers*, and *Queenes* her *Nursing-mothers*. In this respect (more specially than others) they are called *Gods seruants*; not only because they serue him in the gouernment of the commonwealth (a thing common with them and the worst Princes) but because he vouchsafeth to vse their meanes, as the fittest *Instruments* to aduance his *Church* vpon earth. And surely a double service God expecteth from them; the one *Common* with all Christians; the other *peculiar*, to serue him in that place as *Kings* & *Princes*. To haue performed the first is an action of praise and may giue great hope; but to faile in the second, is staynd with reproch, & vsually accompanied with much daunger: Euill Princes seruing oftentimes to Act but the ruines of that Kingdome by the fall of the *Church*, in whose misery these lues for the most part doe perish. In the first dutie (as Christians) they are not priuiledged aboue other men, they are tyed to same obedience, bound to as many vertues (nay moe for exaple) & must in the end (being called to the same account) be iudged with as much seuerite as the meaneest subiect. *Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings, be learned ye that are Iudges of the Earth. Serue the lord with feare & reioyce vnto him with Reuerence*: In the latter the seruice of Princes hath two parts, the one concerning the *Commonwealth*, the other *Religion*, and the *Church*: to the first they are tyed as *Kings*; to the latter they are bound, as they are vertuous, and *Religious Kings*. The first in dooing mercy, and iudgment, in defending the fatherlesse and poore, in seeing that such as

be

be in neede and necessitie haue right, in bestowing duely punishment, and reward; and in all those other politticke vertues, they are happy *Instruments*, to make a prosperous and flourishing *Commonwealth*; The second concerneth his *Religion*; a duty, as it lyeth vpon all (for all ought to be *Religious*) so especially vpon the *Prince*, who must not only be, but be the *meanes* to make all other to become *Religious*: a thing, though not euer true vnder vertuous *Kings* (whose holy examples sometimes preuaile no farther but to make *Hypocrites*) but seldome, or neuer, to be expected, where the *Princes* themselves delight to seeme openly prophane. If man had no other light but the light of *Nature*, & would not so willingly beleue what were done with, as without the *Scripture*; yet euen *this point* will appeare to be most true, being the practise of those men, who had no other guide for their Actions, than the vchangeable directions of the light of *Nature*; for whatsoeuer the *Religion* was, (as in most it was nothing but *Idolatrous Superstition*;) yet the transgression thereof was esteemed worthy to receaue punishment, and the appointment of this punishment was thought to be peculiar to those, who had *principall authoritie* to gouern the *Comonwealth*. Thus the *Athenian* tooke vpon themselves the power to condēne *Socrates* (a man peraduenture wiser than any of the rest) but faulty (as they thought) in *Religio*, & therefore to be censured by the *Authoritie* which they al had. The like we read of the *Romans*. *Tiberius* would make *Christ* a God without the authority of the *Senat* (where though the Act was needles, & to *Christ* little honor;) yet it sheweth that both the care of *Religion* belonged to the *Roman Emperor*, & that men (euen *Heathens*) were not hastily carried to performe any actiō of that nature, without the aduice of others iudgmēt: neither euer the *Apostles* or *Prophets* reprehēd this care in the Rulers in any age. It was easie to erre what *Religio* was, but all men saw to whom the care did principally belong; neither should any mā deserue cōmendation for performing that which were wholly exempted from the limits of his owne calling. But al *Antiquitie* hath giuē in this kind, honorable Testimony to *Cōstantine* and

Rom. 13.  
1. Pet. 2.

and *Theodosius*, two Emperors of much vertue. Nay *Religion* it selfe, which giueth the best *Rules* to preserue *Religion*, being contained in the *Two Tables*, expressely commandeth, who ought to be the ouerseer, the keeper and preseruer of both. Inwardly the strongest motiue is *Religion*, and they are most (for the most part) Religious, who are Religious for conscience; but there is a feare from the hand of the Maiestrate, able to restraine those (at least from outwarde being euill) whom neither *Conscience*, nor *Religion* could make honest. *Christian Emperours* haue with their Zeale gained much honor for this in the eye and Iudgement of Gods *Church*. This made them when contentions arose, to call *Councells* as that of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon* to purge the Temples both from *Heathenish Idolatry*, and *Christian superstition*; to make lawes, the better to keepe men in obedience towards God; the irreligious contempt of whose worshippe (though in the Subiects themselves) haue brought a iust ruine, euen for not forbidding, both vpon the Prince and the Commonwealth. Reason then, which tyeth Princes to procure the prosperitie of that land, ouer which they gouerne, exacteth fro them a principall care of the Church, and of Religion, the decay and the contempt whereof, are the originall causes of pestilence, dearthes, wares, and such like. For where humors are infected a little, it is like that the maners are first distempered a great deale, the most of the Fathers are plentifull in this point. This made Saint *Austine*, learnedly to confute the Donatists whose Harecy was like the error of some in our days, holding that Princes ought to permit euery man to enioy, what *Religion* he likes, and to persecute no man for Religion at all; this serueth to confute the two great Errors of our time; the one of the *Anabaptists*, the other of the Church of *Rome*; The first holding it vnlawfull for a Christian to be a Magistrate, much lesse to vse his authority in matters that concerne *Religion*; the other that the care of Princes to maintaine *Religion*, ought only to be with these word; but to cosfute errors, to reforme Churches, to call *Synods*, These they thinke to be peculiar

peculiar to the Pope himselfe. The contrary to both these; wee are taught by Scriptures, by Historie, by Fathers, and by Testimonie of some of the Popes themselves; who haue earnestly intreated the Christian Emperours to call Councels. This then being in the opinion of all that are of sound iudgement, both the greatest care and honor to a Christian prince, let vs consider a little those pointes that are absolutely requisite for the Religious performing of this duty; the person whom wee call the Prince, is hee that hath supreme authoritie according to the forme of that kingdome wherein he ruleth. In humane actions that they may be performed aright, it is requisite, that we are willing, that we haue knowledg, that we haue power; without the first our knowledge & abilitie do want motion; without the second our motion & ability shal want skill; without the third our motion and skil shal want strength. The first is an vnestimable benefit bestowed vpon religious princes from the powerfull Author of all pietie; in this respect all men are bound to commend them to God more especially in their prayers, assuring our selues, that vnlesse wee or they faile, hee that hath giuen them to will shall inhable them at length to performe it likewise. The best assurance to discerne the Author of this wil, is the considerations of the ends which are only two; *Gods glory*, and the good of others, which being not the scope of their actiō, it is no more possible that God should bee the Author of that will, than that goodnes is possible to bee the Author of much euill; Ends of doing which lye in the hart of man, and are onely discerned by God himselfe, are the true discoverers what is the originall fountain of that we doo. For the same things are not alwaies of the same nature, though the manner of performing be all one, if the ends be diuers. The second thing is knowledge, not of much lesse necessitie than the former, whereby hee may bee truly assured, what things are vnfit, and what are warrantable to bee reformed; neither this onely in general, and by others, but if it bee possible in euery particular, and of himselfe; A happines wheresoeuer it is, neither least worth, nor least



power, to make happy both the *Church*, & *Cōmonwealch*. This only was thought to bring greatnes, & ruine, both at once into the Church of Rome; whilst Emperors being busied with other affairs, left the gouernment to the Bishops; the Bishops to the *Suffragans*; these to the Monks; whose authority & knowledge, being much lesse, all things were ruled, with greater corruption & lesse truth. To auod this, *Moses*, cōmandeth the Princes, day & night to be exercised in reading the holy Scripture; next, to haue those about the who are lerned, & honest; it is a maim to a Priuice to be assisted by any that do want either. For to be learned without *Zeal*, is to make aduātage to theselues by a publick losse, & to be *Zealous* without skil, is to couēsel oftētimes to matters that do much hurt. As the former maketh a King cōmonly to be ouer dissolute, so these other do make him to be too rigorous; it is a memorable exāple of *Ioas* the King of *Iuda*, whilst he had *Iehoida* the priest assistāt to him, al things happily succeded to him, & to his whole Realme; but with his death (the King being destitute of such) all things as speedily came to great ruine. To further the Kings knowledge, it is a means neither of least honor nor vse to call *Synods*, of those *Churches* that imbrace the truth; and in them to assemble men of best learning, moderation, and least partiall, whose consultatiō (for disputatiō is a means both to contētious & insolent to finde a truth) may serue for resolution of such points, as weaknes in humility would be glad to learn. It is lost labour in any, & farre vnbesitting the honour of Kings, to vndertake with Curiositie & pride to get knowledge, seeing the one is not desirous to learne, & the other desirous for to learne too much. This hath bin the Care of all religious Emperors; *Constantine* the great, in the case of *Arrius* called the Councell of *Nice*. Thus *Theodosius* the great, in the case of *Neſtarius*, the Councel of *Ephesus*, *Valentinian* and *Martian*, the Councell of *Chalcedon* against *Eutiches*, *Iustinian* the Councell of *Constantinople*, against *Seuerus*, the Patriarch of *Antioch* which renued the error of *Eutyches*, *Constantine* the fift, The sixt *Synod* against the *Monothelists*, *George* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Macharius* the



the Patriarch of *Antioch*, & their followers: the third thing is ability which shall easily receiue greatest strength from hence, if all lesser differences removed, a perfect concord & agreement be made with those of the same Religiō. If *Israel* and *Juda* be at variance, both shalbe caried into Captiuitie; the one into *Assyria*, the other into *Babylon*. Thus the Eternall power punisheth our pride, the fountaine of our disension with captiuitie, to learn vs amitie, & friendship in a strange land; Oh that *Ierusalē* were built as a City at vnitie in it selfe! If any man yet doubt of the authority of kings in Ecclesiasticall causes, & ouer such persons; let them know that in al ages, with good warrant, Princes haue displaced and iudged men of the Church; as Religiō, reason, & desert haue moued them. *Salomon* displaced *Abyathar*, and placed *Zadock*; *Theodosius*, & *Valentinian*, made a decree that those which were infected with the impiety of *Nestorius*, should be deposed. *Iustinian* is cōmended for deposing *Silueirius* & *Vigilius*; *Jeremy* his case was heard of the Princes; *Cecilian* & *Athanasius* being wronged, appealed to *Constantine*: seeing the this cloud of witnesses against the, let the hereafter not so vtneuerently (as some haue done) account those persons Bauds to al maner of sins in Princes, who maintaine the to be free frō excoṁmunication; neither need they to fear (as some of them say) that this opinion proceedeth frō a worse cause than frō simple error. But the boldnes of some to excoṁmunicate the Prince at their pleasure, hath both giuen incouragement, to seek alteration without reuerence, & perēptorily to call that reformation, which is but their own fancies; hereūnto I might add which is obserued by others, that this *Consistory* taketh appeals, or the right of redresse for all wrongs, offered in Ecclesiasticall Courts, from the power of the Prince, for they themselues sitting in Christs *Tribunall seat*, it can be neither lawful, nor warrantable, to appeale from them; besides the law giueth vnto the Prince the *Nomination* of *Bishops*, & some other Electiue dignities in the Church: the custody of *Bishops* Temporalities, during the vacation; And patronage paramōt, or right to present by the last lapse: but these giue election of *Church Offices* to their *Consistories*, and people, and would deuide all

Ier. 16.

T. C. in his second reply.

D. Sutcliffe.

liuings among their Elders & Decons, whom they appoint to be paymasters of their Pastors, if either I charge them with vntruth, or any indifferent vnderstanding can thinke this not danngerous to the *Church* and the Commonwealth, let their petitions haue successe; their complaints haue audience; their cause finde fauor: and in that one Act, let *Religion*, the Prince, peace, and all vterly perish. I omit first frutes, Tenthes, subsidies, cōtributions of Ecclesiasticall persons, all which are graunted by the lawes vnto the Prince of this Land, all which by thē are accounted sacriledge and robberie, and left wholly to the disposition of their polliticke Consistorie; and where as (as wee shall haue occasion to handle hereafter) some special men in particular cases, both in equitie, and conscience, are to be exempted by priuiledge, from those lawes that doe binde all, (a power only reserued to the *Prince* himselfe,) These should all dispensations vnlawfull, and howsoeuer they fauour it in themselves, no lesse than superstitious, and *Antichristian*, in others. A thing doubtlesse of much vse, and great necessitie in all kingdomes, and of no daunger at all, where the King is vertuous. Whilst the true consequēts of their false opinions, haue taught the world that these and such like derogations of the Kings authoritie, haue beene maintained in that vnlearned Schoole, they labour to make all men beleue that Princes haue not more honest Religious and loyall Subiects than they are; A thing surely by experience neuer to be found, so long as they haue entered, vnder pretence of Religion to become abaters and disposers of the Kings Reuenewes; as if he that were gouernor of the *Church* and the *Commonwealth*, were bound in dutie by power and reuenewe but to haue care of the *Church* only; a Diminution of all greatnesse is affected by thē, that by the disposition of that which they esteeme to be the superfluitie of all States, necessarie defences, and moderate Ornamentes may all faile to make them rich.

In their Eccles.  
dis.



## CHAP. II.

*The Church visible of all other Societies is fittest to haue a Discipline: but neuer the same that some men desire.*

**T**O thinke that either the Church (how putrified soeuer the Religion be) be in so good a case for gouernment, that nothing can either be added, or taken away, to make it better; or that the same Societie, how much soeuer disordered, be to be altered, by private warrāt; is very daungerously, and apparantly, to erre in both. The first being the effect of too much flattery, and self loue: the latter, the daungerous attempt of an insolent presumption; both hazardous to that holy Societie, whom either they thinke for gouernment to be absolute, or absolutely to be gouerned by their owne fancies. In these two Errors, the difference is this, that they first may easily erre, in thinking that to be best which Experiēce hath taught them to be good: in the latter there is lesse excuse because they mislike all, whatsoeuer may not be esteemed to proceede from their owne deuiſe, that there is a gouernment requisite for that Societie which we call the Church, the wisdom of God hath made knowne vnto vs, both by proportion

portion of those naturall, and Ciuill Societies, to which the Church is compared, and by the perfection of that fellowshipp, which the Saints in all ages, and places, where the true worship of GOD hath preuailed, haue had from the foundation of the worlde, amongst themselves.

The first roote of humane Societies (as being impossible to continue without order) is distinguished by God himselfe into severall degrees and prerogatiues of *Husbands, Parents, Maisters*, aboue *Wife, Children*, and *Servants*; and yet all linked in the mutuall agreement of like duties. *The greater Branches* that rise out of these rootes; Cities, countries and kingdomes are neither destitute of lawes, to prescribe, nor Magistrats to execute for the common good; all receiuing dignitie, and strength, from this fountaine, *that by the benefit of Good lawes, they are well gouerned.* If men were of themselves either willing, or constant in that which were good, It were needles to haue a discipline for all, where euery mans vertue were a lawe to himselfe; but seeing our corruption is such, that we are easily deceived by our selves, more easily seduced by others, but most and most dangerously perverted through feare, and desire (the one to spurn vs that we goe not too slowe, the other, to bridle vs that we runne not too fast) there is a line, both to direct, and to amend, necessarily limited to all sorts; and this, in due season, lest disorder indured, breed confusion, the fore-runner of all ruine. Seeing then the Church of Christ is the house of God, the City of the liuing God, the kingdome of his beloued Sonne, can wee thinke that he is careful for others, and carelesse, or negligent for his owne? or that disorder is lesse dangerous, or lesse to be feared in the Church, than in the Commonwealth; surely hee that in all places is the Author not of confusion but of peace, will haue all thinges performed decently and in order for the Gouernment of his Church. To this end hee appointed Stewardes ouer his household, Watchmen, and leaders, ouer his flocke; laborers in his harvest; *Husbandmen in*

1. Tim. 3.  
Hebr. 12.  
Coloss. 1.

1. Cor. 14.

2. Cor. 4.  
Hebr. 13.  
Luke. 10.

his

*his Tyllage*; and being proportioned to a bodie, maketh some to bee Eyes, Eares, Tongues, Handes; that is principall members, for directing, and assistance of the whole; without which (in all reason) it must needes be vnable to prouide for the safetie and securitie of it selfe; so that the Honour, or happinesse had beene small, to haue made it a Church, vnlesse this likewise had beene added, To haue made it a Church that is well Governed: for the vnitie of the Spirit is not kept, but in the bande of peace. Basilin Psal. 33

*This Regiment of the Church*, is as well Extellernall, as Internall; The latter is that gouernment which God hath by his holy Spirit, and truth, in the hearts of the faithfull; which as it is neuer varied, so it is not questioned amongst vs in the Church of Englande. By this which is the Kingdome of his Sonne, all men confesse, that GOD inwardly, and effectually worketh in his Saintes the Faith of his truth; the feeling of his grace; and other spirituall blessings according to the purpose of his will, for the praise of his owne Glorie, in which no earthly creature is able to ioyne or to concurre with him; sauing only in this, that the Word and the Sacraments being left as externall meanes, there must be fitte persons for both, and a power in them to admitte, and reiect, lest happily, holy thinges be defiled, whilst Pearles are cast vnto Dogges and Swine. From hence ariseth a necessitie of externall Gouernment in Gods Church; which respecteth the appointing of meete men, and the due approbation of such, as are to be credited with the free dispensation of such inestimable Treasures committed to their Charge. In this, whilst all men agree that it ought, and many that are religious are desirous that the Church should be rightly ordered; many Intemperat men, without any learning, or care, haue offered vnto vs that kinde of gouernment, which had it beene once admitted, could not choose but Eph 4

time

time haue pored a ruine to the whole Church, whose labours (as farre as they were honest) no man hath reason to dispies: but being dangerous, they are to be diswaied from attempting, and frendely to be counsailled, to aduise better. For to allow the best and fauorablest excuse that this cause can afford, (a curtesie perhaps they desire not at our hands) is to thinke they haue dealt as men, that coming in loue, to visite a sicke friende, haue euery man geaue his aduise without skill. The best reason (in wise Iudgements) to deny alteration of any well establisht order, as also to procure approbation, with good conscience to such customes as are publikely in vse; is when there riseth from the due consideration of them, apparant reason (although not all waies to proue them better) than any other, (for who did euer require this in mans ordinance (yet competent to shew their conuenient fitnesse in regard of the vse for which they should serue; duties of Religion performed by the Church, ought to haue in them according to our power, a sensible excellency, Correspondent to the Maiestie of him whom we worship; yea then are publike duties in the Church best ordered, when the militant doth resemble by sensible meanes, as it may in such cases, that hidden dignitie, and glory, wherewith the Church Triumphant in Heauen is beutified; how be it as the heare of the Sun, which is the life of the whole world, was to the people of God in the Desert, a greuous annoyance; (for ease whereof his extraordinary prouidence ordained a Cloudy Pall to ouershadowe them) so things of generall vse and benefit (for in this world what is so perfect that no inconuenience doth euer follow it) may by some accident, be incommodious to a few; in which case for priuate Euills, remedies there are of like conditions, though publike ordinances wherein the common good is respected, be not stirred. Let it be therefore allowed that in the externall forme of Religion, such things as are apparantly and haue beene sufficiently proued effectuall, and generally fit to set forward godlinesse; either as betokening the greatnesse of God, or as bebecoming

Maister Hooker.

2. Chro. 2. 5.

beseeming the dignitie of religion, (both which are shadowed in the riches and ornaments of our Church) or as concurring with Celestial impressions in the minds of men, may be reverently retained, some few, rare, casuall, and tolerable, or otherwise cureable inconueniences, notwithstanding. And in this case, it is not a consideration either of least reason, or least vse, to obserue what hath bene allowed as fit in the iudgement of all Antiquitie, for the good gouernment of the Church; from which either easily, or much, to swarue, was neuer yet in experience, warranted to be safe.

Wherefore in the altering of formes of Church gouernment, Reason doth not allow it to be good either to change what Experience hath taught to be without much hurt, or in the change to followe the direction of yong heads. For though *Ripenes of vnderstanding, be grayehairs and the vertues of such be old age*, yet wisdome and youth are seldome ioyned; for we must seeke it among the Auncient, and in the length of dayes vnderstanding. So that if the contention be, to whom we must harken, and who are they that rule vs in this case, doubtlesse the aged for the most part are best experienced, least subiect to rash & vnaduised passiōs, seldome carried with an affectation of noueltie, or change, & therefore best in matter of Counsaile to be best trusted, and safest in matter of Change, to be wholly followed; for as hands are seldome profitable to any great attempts, longer than youth strengthen them; so Wisdome is not of much value, till age and experience haue brought it to perfection. In whom therefore time hath not perfected knowledge, such must be content to follow them, in whom it hath, sharp and subtill discourses of witt (which are not the ordinarie felicities of those that haue laboured in this cause) procure many times great applause, but being laid in the ballāce with that which the habit of sound Experience plainly deliue-  
reth, they are ouer-weighed. Let vs therefore as in all other things of deliberation and Counsaile, follow the aduise of him, who said, *Aske thy Father, and he will shew thee, thine Auncients, and they shall tell thee.* They which doe nothing (as

Iob. 10. 12.

Deut. 33. 7.



one wisely noteth) but that which men of accompt did before them, are although they doe amisse, yet they least faultie, because they are not the Authors of harme; and doing well their actions are freed from preiudice of Noueltie, an imputatiō alone able to diminish the credite of that which is well donne; The loue of thinges auncient doth argue staydnesse, but leuitie and want of Experience, maketh apt to innouations. For vsually (where Scripture doth not gaine say) that which wisedomie did first begin, and hath beene with good men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that succcede, although it pleade for it selfe, nothing, but that which is new (as their discipline is) if it promise not much, doth feare condemnation, before triall, till triall noe wise man (although women and some rash heades doe) doth acquite, or trust it, what good focuer it pretend or promise. So that in this kinde, fewe things being knownen to be good, till such time as they growe to be auncient, as wee haue small reason to dislike, or alter, what by continuance wee haue found to bee profitably honest; so we haue much lesse cause to admitt that which in our selues, and our Church doth want triall, and with others abroad, hath beene the Originall of much euill. Nowe because all thinges can not be Auncient which are expedient, and needefull, in the Church; This being a bodie which neuer dieth, hath euer power, no lesse to ordaine in things indifferent, *that which neuer was*, than to ratifie that which hath beene before, for surely the Church (howe soeuer some men distast this point) hath Authoritie to establish that for an order at one time, which at an other, it may abolish, and in both doe well. Laws concerning outward order are changable, articles concerning doctrine are not. There is (saith *Cassianus*) no place of audience left for them, by whom obedience is not yielded to that which all haue agreed vpon; for it is to bee feared that the sacred worde shall at their handes, hardly receiue due honour, by whom the holy ordinances of the Church, doe receiue contempt; It being a vertuous obedience in both, as well to the rest in that which

*Cassina de Incor  
mat. lib. I. cap. 6.*



which the Church commaundeth vnto vs, as in that which God commaundeth vnto his Church. And if those things which are misliked, (peraduenture of a number without reason) were euils of that nature that could not bee remooued, without manifest daunger to succede in their roomes; wisdome (of *Necessitie*) must giue place to *Necessity*; all that it can doo, is as much as may bee, to mitigate the euils, that when the best things are not possible, the best may bee made of those that are. *Wisdome* will rather tollerate some euill in *A forme of government* that is *tryed*, Than in a *Government vntried*; to stand to the hazard of a farre greater. It is the honour of all Kings that which is the Title of the *Princes of this Land*, to bee as they are called, *Defendours of the Faith*: and this not onely in regard of Enemies abroad, but in respect of those also which desire alteration at home, oftentimes *A hope of ease* giueth men that iustly suffer, occasion to complaine, whose discontentments (how lamentably soeuer displayed) are not alwaies the euidences of true griefe; nor euer the argumentes of a iust wrong. For doubtlesse let a Church bee as well gouerned, as euer was any eyther in, or before the Apostles time; Let *Moses* and *Aaron* both labour to make it Excellent; Let *Dauid* and all his *Counsellours* aduise for the good of it; yet she shal neuer want those within the bosome of her, who eyther wearie with that which is auncient, or in loue with some newe deuise of their owne, are readie to depraue that *Gouernment*, which they ought for to reuerence, as being the *Orders* of that *Societie* wherevnto in all dutie they doo owe obedience. There will euer beesome *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, to tell *Moses* and *Aaron*, that they take too much vpon them. Such is the frailtie of humane nature, and so great our vnwillingnesse to liue in subiection to the government of other men, That wee will rather, hazard an opposition to God himselfe, than haue our *Zeale* to bee guided by the limits of any *Laws*; doubtlesse those that are thus proud, may iustly suspect that GOD hath not placed them as workmen, in the reformation of the

Numb. 16.

*Now to the  
Communitie  
Fol. 49. 50.  
Ibid. Fol. 55.*

*External government of that Kingdome, whose foundation was first laid with so much humilitie; This if the first authors of these troubles had well considered, they would not in a matter of so great Consequence, haue allotted the power, and authoritie of alteration, vnto the violent, and unlimited passions of the rude multitude; a thing in it selfe as without warrant, so incredible almost to haue proceeded from men that were furnished but with common sence. Could any thing sound more pleasing to the lowest and worst parts of a Kingdome? Could any thing moue sooner to rebellion, than to tell them that Reformation of Religion belongeth to the Communitie? that the Communitie may lawfully require of their King to haue true Preachers, and if he be negligent they iustly may themselves provide them, maintaine them, defend them against all that persecute them, and may detain the profit of the Church-livings from the other sorte? If these strange opinions which must needs sound harshly in the eares of all Kinges, had not dispersed themselves like a poyson into the veynes of this Kingdome, the Authors might haue slept in silence, and their hallowed treasons haue remained vntouched; But seeing those who were sollicitours abroad, are now so neere that they be daungerous perswaders at home, it is a consideration not of small importance, as well to looke at the Authors and the meanes (with what pretences soeuer they are ouershadowed) as at the thing it selfe, neither much needfull, nor verie safe. And howsoever (in humane reason we haue now lesse cause than euer, to feare the daunger of this euill; yet seeing no harme in a religious Kingdome, with a vertuous Prince findeth as little resistance, as that which is couered with the name of Zeale; all men haue cause both to pray, aduise, and assist, that the misteries of this euill (the iust punishment for the contempt of his truth) light not vpon vs, in our dayes nor in the dayes of our Children, that shall succede after. There is not any fancie grounded vpon so little truth, that hath so speedely growne to that greatnes, as the discipline of Geneva hath; It is like in our Kingdome (yet fit inough peraduenture for them)*

them) vnto the Gourd that shadowed *Ionas*, but of a small continuance, and yet some great Prophets. are content to rest vnder the shadowe of it; wee shall easily forgett the Author of greater benefits, vnlesse some Worme in mercie be sent for to eate it downe; at the first in the Auncient Disputations, against the Papists and Anabaptistes, both in *Fraunce*, and *Geneua*, there could bee found but two essentiall notes of the Church; *The true preaching of the word, and the right administration* of the Sacraments, but when some of ours were returned from *Geneua*, they were not affraied to tell vs, (a strange opinion to be publisht by learned wise men) That Maister *Beza* helde the *Geneua* Discipline, the third note of the Church, and of as much necessitie as the Sacramentes or the worde it selfe; which thing if it were as soundly proued, as it seemes it is constantly beleueed by them, all men had reason to acknowledge them the Authors of much good, and to aduerture themselues farre, in the defence of it. Out of this stronge opinion haue proceeded these vnreuerend speeches against our Land: *Englande with an Impudent forehead, hath said, I will not come neere the Holy one: wee are neuer the better for her Maiesties reformation. seeing the Walls of Sion, lie euen with the Ground. Rome is come into our gates. Antichrist reigneth amongst vs*, Infinite are the speeches collected out of their owne writings by others in this kinde; and yet for all this, they would seeme both to flatter the Prince (if so worthie a Prince could bee flattered) and highly to commend her happie gouernment, so many waies profitable both to the Church and the Commonwealth: but whilst we charge them with Innouation (a thing whereunto wise Gouvernors must haue good regard) One commeth forth with great boldnesse (yet one of the weakest that hath laboured in this cause) and saith, wee craue no alteration in Religion, but only, that the things which are standing as they doe may be brought to the order of the Apostles use, and to the Canon of Gods holy word in those circumstances which remain yet vnreformed. Do you speake considerably in this

Bertrā. pag. 15  
Morna. pag. 37  
Calvin Inst.  
lib. 4. 1. 9.

T.C. his second  
reply. Pag. 53.

Penries Epist.  
before the  
Humblemotion.  
Suppl. to the  
parliament. pag.  
67.

Gilbyes Dial:  
Pag. 151.  
Admonit. pa. 34

Nich. in the  
plea of the  
Innoc. p. 130.

My Lord his  
Grace of Can-  
terbury.  
Doctor Bilson.  
Doctor Surcliff.  
Master Hooke,  
& many other.

plea? were all things that are desired by you, and others vsed in the Apostles time? Are they all warranted by the Canon of Gods word? Doubtlesse if you had perused with any indifferency, all the learned discourses, of those that haue laboured in this, you should easily haue found that most things demaunded, and so much desired, are new, and that wee are not now absolutely tied, to all these things that were in vse in the Apostles time. It shall not be amisse (howsoeuer it hath beene already most learnedly performed by others) to let them *Vnderstand, that the orders of the Church, haue beene at times diuers, Whereof some haue beene added, some ceased; and that wee are not absolutely* tied to imitate the times that haue beene before in euerie particular; the Church as it is Militant heere on earth, liueth not alwaies in the same state, it laboureth sometimes (seeming to decay) vnder the Crosse, sometimes it flourisheth in the aboundance of much peace; sometimes it is gouerned by these, who are Nurses of it, and sometimes by such whose hands are readiest to pull it downe; now, where the affection of Princes that gouerne is not all one, the condition and state of the Church, must needes alter; besides euen the chiefe officers, erected by our Sauour, of the Apostles, Prophets, and Euangelistes, in that kinde notwithstanding are all ceased; for although Apostolicall Iurisdiction, doo now continue, in Bishops, yet no man is ordayned to bee an Apostle: that which is aunswered of ordinarie, and extraordinarie, overthroweth the cause; for if these bee extraordinarie, and all offices that are reckoned vp by the Apostle bee not ordinarie, then *the Governours of the Church ceasing, no man can say with reason, that forme of the Church government is all one.* To holde that all that was diuers at diuers times, was the same gouernment, is to make things continuing, and ceasing, distinguisht, and confounded, to bee all one. And if wee looke further to that which seemed to bee most solemne, the *Senedrim* and great Councell at *Ierusalem*, is no where extant. And if they allow the forme at *Genena*, they are popular, but surely though in this

no man, could looke for other, than difference to arise where trueth hath not laid the foundation of what they holde; yet this is most straunge, that they are so firme for Doctors, to bee distinguisht from Pastors, for seuerall Consistories for euerie parish; widowes, and such like; whereas *Genewa* hath but one Consistorie for diuers Parishes; no Doctors, distinct from Pastors, no widowes, and in *Fraunce* onely Pastors, and Elders, are thought necessarie; yea besides this, there were many things, commendably, in vse in the former times, which as the Church hath power to remooue, so likewise hath she authoritie to appoint new; our Sauour instituted a Ceremonie which hee inioyned his Disciples to obserue, of *washing of feete*; the same continued long in the Church as may appeare by a Treatise attributed to Saint *Cyprian*, but now out of vse, and vtterly ceased. The Apostles decreed that all should abstaine from bloud and from things strangled, the Apostle willeteh the *Romans* to greete one another, with a holy kisse; yet both these discontinued amongst vs, euerie man praying or prophecyng with his head couered dishonoreth his head; a thing at this day not of that strict obseruance, but that it may bee done without breach of humility, or the Apostles precept. That all the lawes and orders in the Church are not durable appeareth, by ceasing of the Ceremoniall law, and the *Iewish pollicie*, so that the obseruation of the Morall, and whatsoeuer hath dependence vpon that, is the true rule of discipline for maners; other things are but the violent fancies of some weak men, who haue abused their Zeale to doe most hurt. Neither neede wee stand to prooue much the alteration of this gouernment, seeing themselues haue varied in the demanding of it. In the yeare 1572. the first admonition (which the late most *Reuerend Lord Archbishop of Canterbury* did after confute) was offered to the Parliament, as contayning a perfect platforme of the discipline they desired to be established in this Realme. Within fewe yeares after they altered it againe; In the yeare 1584. an other,

Iohn. 13.

*Cyprian de ab-  
lutione pedum.*

1 Cor. 12.

which

24  
which seemed to haue receiued as much perfection, as they could desire; but presently after the Parliament this was found amongst them to haue some thing anisise, and the correcting being referred to one, who had trauesed the matter a new, it came out more perfect in the yeare 1586, an other in the yeare 1588; and it is like, as most of these were, against Parliaments, so some thing now is to bee performed for this, if their cause can haue patrons, or the patrons can finde hope; but I hope by this time, our Gouvernours are more wise, and hee who is able to discerne these plots, hath found by experience their desires to bee too proud, and in reason not likely to benefit this Church, with a better peace; so that wee may safely conclude this point; *That though the Church of all Societies bee fittest to bee Governed with an auncient and vertuous discipline, yet that discipline is farre differing from the same that they doo require.*

CHAP.





## CHAP. III.

*The Censure of a Booke called the Plea of the  
Innocent.*

**W**Here the persons of men, haue so neere affinitie with the actions performed by them, it will require great moderation and care, so to censure the one, as that we may not iustly bee suspected to disgrace the other: the neglect of this, (a fault which is too common both in the times before vs and in our age) hath turned the confutation of errors to personall reproofes, and hath made the defensors, weaknes, or Indiscretion, the greatest aduersary to a good cause; and howsoeuer some partiall men are caried with as much loue to all they doo, as they are to themselues that doo it; and with like disposition, are impatient to bee toucht in eyther; yet no man of wisdom or vnderstanding, can thinke it to bee all one, to haue his action or his person, censured; some Actions I confesse there are of that nature, which are the defectes of our ordinary weaknesse; and therein though not Excusable, yet carry some reason to challenge a fauourable compassion, extending either to forgiuenes or to concealments; (which both doubtlesse are the effects of men that are truly vertuous) where as some others, as it were by couenant are performed to that

B

end;



end, that they rest amongst all men, and in all ages, tyable to that censure which time shall giue them, And they merit. *Of the first sort are our sinnes, in which kinde our profession haib had some euill Confessours*; of the Latter are Bookes, which as they are actes performed, with the best of our iudgement, voluntarie, with deliberation, and with a resolution by couenaut eyther to aunswere or indure what Censures shall light vpon them, it cannot bee any breach of Charity, or modesty, where the opinions misliked are defended, to censure the Bookes, which are made in defence of them. And although euerie man in reason is tyed, to bee careful of his good name, yet seeing that both euerie harde Censure, is not a prooffe to continue error, nor euerie error an imputation to a man that deserues well; It is not all one to say such a Booke is euill written, and to say such a one is not an honest man; The first is allowed in the warrantable liberty of all learning, but the latter, Charitie, and Humilitie, do both forbid, as being but the dangerous effect of too much pride. Things that are euill in manners, are euill in that they are done, and are a iust imputation to the partie in that they are knowne; but writings that are Censured, carry not euer that sentence among them, which some ignorant, or partiall opposite, shall impose vpon them; nor euer doo men censure, as some enemies peraduenture would make them speake. There are Commentaries wee know vpon Saint *Luke*, which passe vnder Saint *Ambrose* name, of which *Ruffinus* in his second Booke of *Inuoluntaries*, maketh Saint *Hierome* to giue this Censure, that hee dallyed in the words, and *slept in the sense*. Which surely as the best writers are of opinion, was rather forged by *Ruffinus*, to make Saint *Herome* odious, than spoken by Saint *Hierome*, to disgrace Saint *Ambrose*. Doubtlesse it were great pity, that seeing the world so much erreth in the choise of friends, that this so necessary an office rather than omitted, should not be performed by our worst acquaintance, and the resolution of all men ought to be this (whilch I thank God I finde in my selfe) if thy friend chide

justly

*Ludere in verbis  
& dormire in  
sensibus.*

*Si merito obiurgauerit te aliquis, scito quia profuit; si immorito, scito quia prodesse voluit.*  
*Seneca.*



lustly in his Censure, he hath profited thee, if vnderferuedly yet hee meant to doe thee good, so that to the first being bound for that which he hath donne, and to the other for that which he would haue done, in reason for this good office, were tyed to both; and for my selfe I neuer wrot any thing, with that minde to haue it published in print (although *Poemata.* some things I haue don for which with Master *Beza* I craue pardon) but I am very willingly content to be Censured for them; when the chiefe troubles of the Church for discipline were either appeased with discretion, or else buried with the Authors of them, so dauidly in the yeare 1602 came forth a Booke written by Maister *Nicholles*, as an Apologie for the dealing in that cause *Intituled the Plea of the Innocent.* Wherein as there were many things, that serued to little vse, sauing only to expresse that honest desire to be wel thought of, which peraduenture the Author had; so the first thing, though not the greatest in my opinion to be misliked, was the want of due consideration of the time, for surely if *Salomon* said true (which no man hath reason to make doubt of) that there was a time for all things; a time to keepe silence and a time to speake, in my weake iudgment, it had beene much fitter (considering the eager contentio amongst those of the Church of *Rome*) to haue beene lookers on, rather at the euent of that quarrel, than to haue beene Authors of any new disagreement amongst our selues; but so different are the dispositiōs of men, that what one mā taketh to be a reason why a thing should be done, and other peraduenture taketh it to be a reason why it should not be don; to haue forborne a little had beene much safer for the Church, & in all reason more honorable for your selues. I with the Author of that booke had those three ornaments, with *S. Hierom* calleth the foundation of all vertue; a patience to be silent, an oportunitie to speak, & a cōtempt of riches. Doubtles to renew an vnaturall contention that was almost buried, & especially at that time, when all proceedings in the Church wer without rigor, as it could not choose, but be labour euil spent; so it was likely to bring little aduantage vnto Gods Church, Peraduenture I mistake the cause, which moued him

Eccles. 3. 7.

Priests &amp; Iesuits not feigned.

*Silendi patientia  
oportunitas lo-  
quendi, contemp-  
tus diuitiarum,  
sunt maxima  
fundamenta vi-  
tutum. Hier. E-  
pist.*

then to vndertake that Treatise, wee will heare himsele in his Preface what he saith, we haue suffered (meaning himsele and others that haue laboured for reformatiōs, and endured much reproach, and cōtempt, which we haue patiently borne, and with great silence, for diuers yeares sustained, that on our part the sacred word of righteousness might not be euill spoken of, and as much as in vs lieth, wee might cut-off all occasions to the common aduersarie to preuaile against the holy Church of Christ Which is among vs. This surely was iust reason, and if it were performed as he saith, it was not performed without Iust cause; for doubtles there is nothing of so small mouement that hath brought greater disaduantage to our Church, than that with so much violence we haue deferred amongst our selues and blessednesse surely shall be their portion, who in this kinde haue beene forward to make peace; but it is not these imbracings of *Ioab*, nor the kisses of *Iudas*, that can bury from the worlds eye, those bitter *Inuectiues*, of *Whittingam*, *Good man Knox*, *Buckanan*, *Gilby*, *Martin*, *Throgmorton*, *Pennry*, *Fenner* and sundrie other, most odious and vn-sauerie bookes (besides a great number of others without name) all which must needes testifie, that for this whole time of our happie peace, whatsoever the occasions were, the matter hath beene carried with little silence, and lesse patience. These men in this case (how well soeuer they haue deserued otherwise,) haue not bin for bitternesse of speech much inferiour to the Heretikes of former times, and of whose followers I may say, with Saint *Chrysostom*; In age they are yonger but in malice Equall; the Broode of *Serpents* are of lesse stature, but haue not lesse poyson. The *Whelps of Wolves*, though they cannot hurt so cunningly, yet will hurt with biting, and desire to sucke Blood. The some of all is as *Sidonius* speaketh; openly they enuied, basely they forged, and seruilelie they were proud; and that which made all this to be much worse, was that the Authors of this euill-speaking, made Religion to be a warrant to speake euill; and whilst they offended vpon this ground, others were desirous to offend, that they might not differ, from their example so that a double fault lyeth vpon the first Author; one

*A parte inuidet,  
Abiectione fingit,  
seruilem superbis  
Sidon. lib. 2.  
Epist.*

one that they offended in their owne person; the second that they were examples to others to the like offence. But why continued you not in this silence still? notwithstanding all this (say you) *The state of things is worse than ever before and I cannot tell whether our commuence in suffering of small speeches against vs, hath done the Church harme. For now Papists begin to comfort themselves, yea they challenge unto the name of honest and true men, and good subiects, and by the reprochfull name of Puritan, All godly Protestants are most cunningly depraved: Give me leave quietly to tell you this much; That (vnlesse I mistake it) you haue little reason or any that hath laboured in that cause to thinke that the state of things is worse than before, At that time when you wrote thus what men were committed for their disobedience? arraigned for their treasons? or where was that assault as you call it of Subscription? besides, all Godly Protestants are not tearmed Puritans; no it is but the singular affection of a some few, that would seeme vpright, which haue gained that name, wherein they doe much glory, last of all if by your sufferance, some Priests grewe insolent, and were not affraide in comparison to make themselves to bee more righteous than you, this was no reason so vnreasonably to prouoke the Reuerend Fathers of the Church against you; but rather all to haue ioyned and your selues formost against them, and yet he not gnilkie that is accused, but he that is conuicted in this cause. But to let passe the occasion of that treatise; giue me leave without offence to giue you my opinion of the whole Booke: it is a verball reiterating of the same things; handled and discoursed by some of those with whom by some occasiō you haue much neernes, I speak ie not that I thinke you had their helpe; for to this their needs none, but to shew that the labour might well haue beene spared seeing others with farre better successe, had trauelled in that same cause; Contradictions there are diuers and all is vnfaid in the last Chapter, which before you haue handled in the whole Booke; speeches that fauour offlatery too plaine. First of the Queene whose worthinesse farre exceeded whatsoeuer you could speake of her, but surely*

Plea pag. 10.  
line. 3.

Ibid. pag. 10.  
line. 5.

Fenner Phillips.

Pag. 60. ad. 59.

Pag. 68.

Reuerend Fathers in the contents of the 5. Chap. pag.

232.

Pag. 110.

Pag. 113.

*Omnia cū liceāt,  
non licet esse bonum.*

Preface to the Demōstr. A. 4

Pag. 120.

From pag. 45.

to 47. which

were handled

from 17. to 27.

And againe in

pag. 73. 78. 79.

from 124. 129

Pag. 53. lin. 13.

Writed pag. 53

L. 2. vndece-

able milk. pag.

9 lin. 20.

Pag. 8. lin. 18.

D. Whitaker

for his priuat

kindnesse;

you cannot possiblie commend her government, who as it seemes by your complaints was no more carefull to haue the Church reformed, as you deale with the Queene so you deale with the Councill, nay rather than faile you will flatter the Bishops also. You reckon vp a true Catalogue of their excellent vles in this Church; & yet notwithstanding, if any harme should haue come to our late Queene, you threaten a little after to lay it to their charge. Much like vnto the Author of the demonstration of discipline who saith that the Bishops by their gouernment giue leaue to a man to be any thing, but a sound Christian; nay your selfe feare not to say, (which certainly is not true,) *they that were incensed against the Puritanes, by the Papists meanes*; nay you spare not our first Bishops, in our late Souereignes time, which hauing fledd in Queene *Maries* dayes, were not likely in reason to be fauourers of the Church of *Rome*; herevnto I may ad your often repetitions of the same things; besides is not this a strang phrase? *We cannot tell whether we might by the lawes and order of this Realme subscribe, although it were otherwise lawfull by Gods word.* As if the Lawes of this Land could be a restraint for subscribing being warranted in Gods word, which they so earnestly impose only in this respect because it is so warranted. I omitt false English, which could not be the Printers fault. The principall points which you seeme to handle we will answer, God willing, in the Chapters following; and with this desire rather to finde out the truth than to confute you, the one is a dutie, but the other can be smale honor. Neither are you to thinke me ouer arrogāt in this censure, seeing I may much better doe it to you than you to his Grace whom you ought in all dutie not to haue named, but with greater honor, hauing shewed vnto you more fauour, as your selfe cannot but confesse, than many others of your qualitie & deserts. I will therefore conclude this point, saying with that learned man (whom I must euer reuerence) as he spake of Maister *Cartwrights* second Reply. *Let me not liue if euer I sawe any thing writte more loosely or almost most Childishly*, and after much to the same effect, the conclusion is this, he is altogether vnworthie to bee confuted

*Non vidē si quid  
in quā uiderim  
dissolutius ac  
pene puerilius.  
Indignus est qui a  
quopiam docto re-  
futatur.*

confuted by any man of learning. Surely there is nothing  
 we doe tast worſe thā to haue a true cenſure of thoſe things,  
 which oftentimes either out of ignorance or affection are  
 much eſteemed, which ſerueth in the ende only to delude  
 our ſelues and deceive others; but though the flatter-  
 rie of *Paraſites* doe ſeeme pleaſant, yet the  
 wounds of a *Louer* are much  
 better.

## CHAP.





## CHAP. IIII.

*The proceeding of the Reformers wholly vn-  
lawfull.*

**I**T falleth oftentimes out in the deliberations of men, that where they haue iust reason to desire reformation of that which is faultie, the meanes many times to attaine this are in themselves vnlawfull and lesse safe. Their are few Kingdoms which haue not found this to be true, both in the Church and the Commonwealth. For as in all States the lowest are aptest to receiue harme, and so euer to pretend that they receiue wrong, and hauing least iudgment to moderate the sence of euill, are most impatient to suffer euill; so whilst they become vnskillfull Phisitions to a publike sicknesse, they make vsually the remedie worse than the disease it selfe; that there is any kingdome gouerned with so much happinesse, wherein the hand of authoritie is carried with that equal tenor, that either rewards or punishmentes are not, or are not thought to bee bestowed by fauour, as we scarcely read of any that haue bene before vs so neither can we hope for a better fortune, to those that are present or shall succeed heereafter. For where true causes of Complaint are wanting, vnnecessarie discontentments are readie to make them to seeme true, nay the Church it selfe

selfe (a Societie that hath farre better lawes to gouerne it  
 than any Kingdome) seldome gaineth this opinion from  
 all, but that some violēt spirits, dare vndertake by orders de-  
 riuēd out of their owne fancies, to frame a government  
 that should be more holy, and more excellent. So that  
 whilst they are earnest conceitours of this forme, (a forme  
 peradventure without warrant and therefore in the ende  
 not likely to proue safe) they fall (a thing visuall) into so  
 great an admiration of their owne creature, that any other  
 government (be it neuer so profitable and vertuous) is  
 despised, and in the ende, nothing is of power to hinder  
 the building of this *Babell*, but the confusion of tongues. So  
 that *Reformatiō* (by a long continued distēper) which ought  
 to be the care and the conscionable desire of all, commeth at  
 the length to be the preposterous and violent misshapen  
 disorder of some few; all men hauing this defect by na-  
 ture, that where they haue power to discerne an euill, they  
 haue not the vnderstanding to finde out the meanes for to  
 make it lesse, the consideration of this as it ought to  
 make those in Authoritie to haue more care and digl-  
 gence; so vndoubtedly it serueth to restraine the vncharita-  
 ble constructions of priuat men, who must not thinke all  
 men to be Hypocrites that are in this case carried with lesse  
 learning, and more Zeale; for doubtlesse in our Church, a  
 great number haue vnfeinedly though without discretion  
 wasted their Zeale, and their labour, in that cause with much  
 hurt, which if they could haue beene so cōtent, might haue  
 serued the Church to a better vse, But seeing that cause (how  
 euill soeuer handled) hath found so much fauour euen at  
 their hands who in reason had least cause to allow disorder;  
 and that nothing is to be more suspected as euill to be don  
 than that which we finde to be euill donne, we will make a  
 short but a true narration of this course, which hath beene  
 held from the beginning for the establishment of this go-  
 uernment. Neither is it fit that the particular ouersights of  
 some fewe, and peradventure of such as either were, or were  
 thought least fit to be employed in a matter of that momēt,  
 should be any iust exception to that proceeding, if men of



greater learning, and cheefest in that action, it had bene carried without violence, with much grauitie, moderation, and Zeale, but if we finde both the words, and the deedes of the best amongst them, to haue been such as no man hath reason to allow, it cannot choose but seeme strange, that any one (carefull of what he vttereth) should become a patron to that proceeding, which is no sooner barely rehearsed, but must vnto all men of necessitie, appeare to be without warrant. For if failing in Ciuilitie of tearmes, their actions, had bene more milde; or if ouer seene in their Actions, their words had bene of a better temper; some colorable show might haue been their excuse, which now is wanting, seeing they doe faile in both; and therefore euen to discouer their proceedings is to ouerthrow the. As few Societies are or can be hoped to be without some euill, so the principall remedies in the iudgement of wise men haue been thought to be three. First that all things corrupted by time should with discretion be brought to their first Institution. Secondly if this were not to be hoped for, they might vtterly be abolished. Thirdly, that no Innociations were permitted to begin; and being begun immediatly by the hand of Authoritie, to be cut of. The first of these was called *Reformation*; which is a repetition or *Restitution* of the aunient deede. So that to *Reform*, is not to make new, but to restore to his former well being, what time and corruption by continuance had made euill. Now as authoritie and wisdom are both requisite to performe this, so must it needs be a disorder in those that would reforme, and doe want both; And it cannot bee but a great oversight in them, Who hauing thus erred ought to bee silent, and craue pardon, dare aduenture notwithstanding, to plead this cause, and to publish *Apologies* in there owne defence. Wee will not touch the first Authors and Originalles of this euill, being deriued from those, who then both for situation and government, were straungers to our state. But only make it appeare that since the beginning of our last *Soueraignes* reigne, what holinesses so euer was pretended, the whole proceeding in matters

*Senectus restra  
prodidiſſe ſu-  
perſe eſt. Hiero.  
ad Creſiphont.*

*Grego. Tholoſſe.  
de Rep. lib. 13.  
cap. 3. Sect. 2.*

*In proemio  
Clement. S. S.  
hac ſent.*

*The plea of the  
Innocent.*

ters of *Reformation* both in worde and deede, was altogether vnlawfull, and without warrant. A thing howsoeuer obserued by diuers heeretofore, yet not vnfit to be handled in this place, and at this time. The ground of that euill which followed was layd in *Queene Maries* time, in whose *Zealous* gouernment, (a *Zeale* in others of our Countrey, from other forreigne places) (in both peraduenture a like euill) sowed the vncleane seede of those immoderat growing tares, which since haue daungered our whole Church. Neither can the goodnesse of Religion bee any warrant for euill doeing, seeing what is lawfull where true Religion doth seeme to giue leaue, must of necessitie bee as Lawfull being permitted by a Religion, or don for a Religion, though it be false.

So that it was no more fit for priuat and Inferiour persons at that time by violence to remoue Idolatrie (the contrarie whereof was their Doctrine) than in times much purer which haue since followed it was or could be lawfull for any of the Church of *Rome*, by inuasion or treason to establish the Doctrine of that Sea. This euer remaining a true rule, *That good then deserueth the name of euill, when being good it ceaseth to bee well done*, and no Religion can warrant to pull downe Kings when true Religion doth commaund that whatsoeuer their Religion is, wee must obay them, either in suffering with patience what they impose, or in dooing with obedience what they doe commaund. So that the iust hatred of Idolatrie seruing to giue warrant to what they did then, in times when the Church was much polluted, hath been not the least occasiō since, to attempt the like and farre worse, when by many degrees the times & the Religion was more pure. And I am sorie so good a man by name, should publish to the world a Doctrine so false and daungerous, that it *should be lawfull to kill wicked Kings and Tyrants*.

Neither had this (being but the priuat error of one) been in all respectes so daungerous, if an other, for his place a Deane, (and not meanelie esteemed) had in not his

*Summary of discipline. Danger: posse.*  
M Hooker in his Preface to his first booke. D. Sutcliffe. That of Queen Marie and of those reform.

Goodman, pag. 73. 74. 77.

Aut agendum  
Aut patiendum.

Goodman of obedience, pag. 99, 103.

*Whittingame.*

The Iesuites.

preface to that Booke, affirmed it to be the doctrine of the best, and most learned in those partes: meaning (as I thinke) *Caluin* and the rest. So that all things being duly weighed, the practise of those in that time for religion, was neither more honest, nor lawfull, than the late practises of those of the Church of *Rome*, neither let any man thinke that Religion can be a warrant for that deed, which must remaine an euerlasting blemish to that Religion, that caused it to bee doone. Others our countrie had at that time men of famous and worthie memorie which liued in *Zurich*, *Basyl* and *Frankesfort*; these discretely obserued without Innouation the reformation established in *King Edwardes* dayes. Nowe when those that had liued in *Geneua*, and obserued with what policie *Caluin* and others swayed the whole gouernment, (a thing peradventure neither much contradiet seeing the worthinesse of the man, nor Difficult to effect considering the forme of that state) they began (sayling in both respects (being equal only in a violet Zeale) to attempt the like discipline in their owne Countrey. A thing so much the lesse sufferable, by how much the parties were meaner, the gouernment of their Countrey farre better, and the alteration not safe in so great a Kingdome. And yet at that time the Zeale of these contented it selfe, little to meddle in shew, with the matters of discipline, but rather was busied about the apparell of *Ministers*, Cerimonies prescribed and amendment (as they thought) of the Communion booke. But after (so hardly are those things limited which are but the workes of a strong fancie) those that succeeded made their discipline, an essentiall Note of the true Church, & were as ready (as they said) to become *Martyrs* in that quarell, as for the defence of any Article of the Christian faith; of whom I may say (as Saint *Austine* doth of some such) they were *Martyrs* if they had died, of a foolish Philosophy. Out of this strong and vehement perswasion of well doing, and from a desire of goodnes peradventure in some (although it is like that those who were most earnest had not the best conscience;) were published sundrie

Dialogues,

*Martyres  
Stultæ philosophiæ*

*By Gilby.  
I. B. Vdalle  
Throgmor.  
Penry &c.*

Dialogues, able to haue iniured a good cause; complaints, petitions to her Maiestie and the Parliament, in the name of the Comunalitie; their appellations, their exhortations, fīue or six seuerall supplications to the Parliament; *Martyrs* vnhalloved Imitations of *Passanants*; The humble motion to the Lords of the Councill; and diuers other of the like nature, in manner of Register collected into one volume. These, & many such (for it were infinit and of small vse to reckon all) were the chiefe, and the best meanes, their learning, wisdom, and holinesse, thought fit, for the gaining of Authoritie to this new discipline, but if these immodest libelles, had beene the worst fruites of those times, and the Art to speake euill, had extended it selfe no further, but to the infinite iniurie of the worthiest in this Church, their error peraduenture might haue had pardon, and that which was indeed the malicious consultation of a number, would haue beene thought, to haue beene, but the madnesse of some fewe; but after all this (as either desiring themselves a sedition, or being misledde by some politicke Atheist to be the actors of the Churches ruine,) they assemble in diuers places, they make lawes, despise Authoritie, and leaue nothing that is violent vnatepted. In the midst of all which, the happinesse of the Church was this, that malice had not so much force as shee had *Endenour*. I am sorry that men endued with vnderstanding, and making Religion to be the ground of what they did, could so farre deceiue themselves, and delude others, as to thinke a practise so disordered, so inconsiderat, so vnciuill, could possibly be allowed in an vnderstanding and well gouerned Kingdome, only because it seemed to be masked with an Idle shadowe of a pure *Zeale*. Now these proceedings that seeme to be warranted by Religion, are most easily spread abroad, because all men presume themselves to haue an interest in Religion, and they are for the most part more hotly pursued, than other strifes, for as much as coldnesse which in other contentions, may be thought to proceede from moderatio, is not in this so fauorably considered.

This

*A presbitarie collected at Wandsworth in Surrey.*  
1572. Nov. 20.

*Bene quod malitia non habet tantas vires quantas conatus Hieron. lib. 2. contra Rufin.*

Dunge. pol.  
Pag. 137.  
Humble mo-  
tion, pag. 39.

This made them (that if all other meanes fayled them) they hoped to effect their desire by force of Armes; To this end they write that in this quarrell ( for reformation ) a hundred thousand hands would be gotten, and then ( say they ) you may easily think *what stroke*, so many would strike together.

Doubtlesse there is nothing that could sauour of greater sedition, ( especially vnder so gracious a gouernment ) than being so violently addicted to their owne fancies, what they could not obtaine by any quieter meanes, rather than faile, to seeke to establish it, with the hazard of so much blood. Nay all seditions almost and the open Rebelions of all times, haue proceeded at first from this ground; that what in the beginning was but weakly thought vpon, grew afterwarde to bee affected with more violence, and in the end rather than to sayle, to bee attempted by open warre.

I confesse the part against whom wee striue, was a long while nothing feared, the wisest contented not to call to minde how errors haue their effects many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reason, wherupon they would seeme built; but rather to vehement affection of Fancie, which is cast towards them, and proceedeth from other causes. And surely if a sparke of errorr lightening in those dispositions, which in all mens thinking were farthest from any inclination vnto furious attemptes, was in all reason like to bee verie daungerous, must not the perill thereof bee farre greater, in men whose mindes are of themselves as drye fewell, apt before hand vnto the tumults? For surely in a cause of Religion men will strayne themselves vnto desperate aduentures, for the reliefe of their owne part, though Lawe and authoritie bee both against them.

This then will bee a consideration of importance at this time, both for the King and the high Court of Parliament, ( when as it is like those humours will growe strong through confidence in their cause, and a hope  
of

of friendes) how vn safe in reason it must needes bee, to suffer the sparks to bee blowen that are almost quenched, or to hazard an Established forme of *Church Government*, by experience found profitable with much peace, in exchange with any newe imaginarie forme lesse warrantable in trueth, and in all reason lesse possible to stand, with the safety of the Commonwealth. Now that wee haue laid open some part of their proceeding for this Discipline; (a poynt handled by vs sparingly and with great vnwillingnesse) (for hee that desireth to see more of their practises may read some Bookes written already to that ende) wee will briefly examine whether any man (and vpon what reason) doth endeavour to iustifie the proceeding of the *Reformers* in this kinde.

Danger. possi.  
Suruey of discip.

The Booke which wee Censured in the former Chapter, called the *Plea of the Innocent*, vndertaketh (verie straungely in my opinion) the defence of the proceeding in this whole cause. For although the Author himselfe might haue assurance of his owne sinceritie, whereof I can not accuse him (though some doo) yet surely hee could not bee so ignoraunt of what had past, since the beginning of her late Maiesties Reigne, nor so charitable to excuse the maner of it, but that a defence of the whole Storie might haue bene better spared than written at that time, and doubtlesse if all other meanes of opposition had fayled, their owne dealing was an ouerthrow sufficient to that cause. The first thing that hee misliketh is that they are called *Puritanes*; and in the clearing them from all effectation of this name, hee spendeth the whole Chapter; making other of his brethren that seemed to bee lesse Religious, and the Vniuersities (places which in duetie hee ought to haue more honoured) to bee the principall Authours of this name, for to tearme them *Puritanes*. But seeing the end of names is but to distinguish, and those who first vsed it amongst vs, did rather shoue what their owne followers did esteeme of them, and what themselues affected

I know not any thing we did in our meetings: or in our supplications or Apologetiall writings but that which was comely for men of our sort. M. Nich. in the Plea.

Page 19. line 14.



ted, than what they were; It cannot in reason bee an imputation to any, that they were tearmed by that name. Neither doo I thinke (although diuers of them did glorie to bee so tearmed) that this name first proceeded from vs, but rather that the Church of *Rome*, seeing vs to reforme our selues to a purer Religion than they professed, and that diuers amongst vs not content with that, desired yet to be more pure, accounting all of vs to bee Heretikes, these by a speciall name, as affecting to seeme more holy than others, (a common practise of the Heretikes in olde time) they tearmed by the name of Puritanes; so that the fault which hee layeth vpon vs, doubtlesse had his originall from those of the Church of *Rome*; and therefore one *Ryghton* in a Table dedicated to Cardinall *Allen* then Gouvernour of Doway maketh *Puritanisme* an Heresie which began in the yeare 1563. neither do I thinke it can easily bee found that any Protestant in England before that time, in any publike writing, vsed the name of Puritan; for no man can bee ignorant but that hee who was the strongest & first opposite to this new discipline, and handled this argument with greatest learning, was himselfe in all precisenes farre purer, than those that most gloried in that name; and was neuer an adueriary to any of this cause, that was not eyther malicious, arrogant, or an hypocrite; neyther is it fit to lay that distinction vpon the Vniuersitie, of youthes and *Prescisiens*, (as this pleader doth) as though all that were not for this new *Reformation* were like one *Athacius* who bending himselfe by all meanes against the heresie of *Priscillian* (the hatred of which one euill was all the vertue he had) became so wise in the end, that euery man carefull of vertuous conuersation, studious of Scripture, and giuen vnto any abstinence in dyet, was set downe in his Kalender of suspected *Priscillianistes*. For whom it should bee expedient to approue their foundnes of faith, by a more licentious and loose behaviour; neither do I thinke vnto a great number that desired this name, could any thing more fitly be applied than that vnto the *Cathari*, a sect of Heretikes, not cleane but worldlings; or as *Epifanius* calleth them, pure impure ones. But surely

The Protest. in  
England be in  
a maner in  
hart al Puritās.  
Bristow in his  
motiue. 40.

The Lo. Arch-  
bishop of Can-  
terbury. Whit-  
gift.

Pag. 11. lin. 23.

*Sulp. Seu. Epit.*  
*Hist. Eccles.*

*Mundanos potius*  
*quam mundos.*



surely if eyther the *Cathari*, the *Novatians*, the *Pelagians*, the *Danasists*, or any sect of the papists at this day worthily deserue, to be termed by the name of *Puritan*, the surely it is no great error to apply that name to a number amongst vs, who are euer readie to boast of their innocencie, and in respect of themselves, to account all of a contrary faction vnholly, and prophane. Others this Author accounteth old barrells. And yet if he had well remēbred what he saith in any other place; *That who so feareth an oath or is an ordinarie resorter to Sermons earnest against excessse, ryot, Popery, or any disorder, they are called in the Vniuersity, Presciscians, and in other places Puritans.* Surely if this description of a *Puritan* were true, neither were there much reproach in the name, nor would a great number be left out of that sect, who in all humility, religion and conscience, haue learned to submit themselves to the present States; and I doubt not but verie truly a great nūber of the *Reuerend Fathers* of the Church, might more fitly be called prescise, than those that for the earnest affectatiō of a new discipline, desire by their followers to bee called pure. For surely in all those things mētioned as notes to discerne a *Puritan*, many that are very far from that pēciuish singularity of some amongst vs, haue done the Church more sevice in one yeare, and liued with greater sinceritie their whole life, than the principall of those who are distinguished by that name; Is it not a straunge presumption to *Impropriat Conscience, Holines, Innocency, and Integrity* onely to some few, as if all the rest who haue seuered themselves from the Church of *Rome*, were no better than Athiests, time-seruers, prophane, and irreligious; only in this respect because by their authoritie and learning, they haue resisted this vnreasonable desire of a new discipline? So hardly doo wee temper our selues, when wee are strongly perswaded of our owne fanicies, but that all that are contrarie or repugnant to vs, wee traduce the to the world, as men without conscience, only for this that they are apposite. A practise which alone is able to discover to the world, our exceeding pride, and intollerable selfe-loue; for no man can doubt but the aduersaries to this cause haue exceeded the other, in all that wherein

they are or would seeme to bee most excellent; onely they haue learned to obey, which is much better than all the sacrifice of fooles. But seeing words haue so many Artificers, by whom they are made, and the things wherunto wee apply them, are fraught with so many varieties, it is not alwaies apparant what the first inuentours respected, much lesse what euerie mans inward conceit is, which vseth their words; doubtlesse to distinguisht things that are of a different condition, is the most ordinarie, and the safest vse of names, seeing necessarily to collect what things are, from names by which they are called, can haue small warrant, these being but effectes oftentimes of malice, sometimes of ignorance, mistaking sometimes of some particular accident; all which serue but in the construction of wise-men, to make their estimation by a better rule; and where things are not in nature such, not to condemne them, though they called by euill names. *The name of Puritan or Prescisan* no man hath reason to vse it as a disgrace, seeing with vs it serueth, but to signifie such, as being more strict for obseruation of Ceremonies, than others (both parties being opposite in that) they both notwithstanding may bee equally distant from the Church of *Rome*, and therefore as I cannot excuse such, as prophanely make it any imputation to bee prescise, (a duetie which surely ought to bee performed by vs all in a stricter maner) so neyther doo I thinke the proceeding of those to bee altogether lawfull, who vnder this name hauing shrowded themselves, account all men besides, to bee prophane Atheistes, and the resistance which they finde in their violent course, to bee a cruell persecutor of innocent men in a good cause. They that teach the world to thinke and to speake thus, must needes bee iudged both to slander the profession of the Gospell amongest vs, and to make themselves the best part of that Church which is seuered from the customes of the Church of *Rome*. But lest peraduenture none of them eyther mislike the name, or make the original of their sufferings to bee their innocency, let vs heare one of them plead for the rest, *Aden which made conscience of many things, which the Reverend*

*Fathers and many learned men affirmed to bee lawfull, and for this they were called Puritans; There is no man can think, but in matters of this nature, the iudgement of the Reuerend Fathers, and many other learned men that were not Bishops, might haue ouerswayed the stiffness of some few (for so they were at the first) without inforcing any faction or breach of the Churches vnion; this phrase is vsuall in that Booke (the goodnes of our cause) and the innocency of our persons, God deliuered his innocent seruants; and being reprobued for their proceeding, their answer is, the innocency of our cause doth constrain vs, and that the world may knowe the reason of their sufferings, they say the chiefest cause of their trouble and reproach, is their carefull and zealous following of Gods holy Word, and their tender conscience in offending God. Would not a man thinke that the Church of England which hath seuered it selfe not without many Daungers from the Church of Rome, had looked backe and become a Harlot and a bloody Kingdome? surely there cannot be a greater bleniush laid vpon this Church (which both is, and is desirous to be thought reformed) than that it hath persecuted for their conscience, men holy, religious, Innocent, and it a good cause. The whole tenor of that plea of the Innocent runneth on in this course as if it were the sighes and mournings of a Church vpright and pure, labouring vnder the burthen of persecution, because they cannot in conscience yeelde vnto Superstition as others doo; from hence are these speeches. They seeing our Innocencie that of mere conscience our vprightnesse makes vs poore innocent men. And in an other place to the same purpose. We can boldly and in the sight of God protest our Innocency, wee and our honest and iust cause. It is now at the least three and thirty yeares since our troubles began to be braide vpon vs, let them shew how wee haue moued our finger against our dread Sovereigne, and in defence of all those who haue laboured in this cause he is not affraid to say: Was not all our doings by humble Supplications; honest and Christian Apologeticall writings, and by lowly and earnest suing by our friends? And further: In this wee haue done no otherwise than all*

Pag. 31. lin. 6.  
33. lin. 23.

Pag. 53. lin. 2

Pag. 59 25.

Pag. 58. lin. 19.  
Pag. 71. lin. 1.  
Pag. 100. l. 19.  
Pag. 103. lin. 7.  
Pag. 114. l. 28.

Pag. 80 lin. 22.

Pag. 120. lin. 7.

*Christian Ministers may and ought to doe.* And if any man marvel how the Bishops became their enemies he aunswereth; *Bishops were our enemies by the Papists meanes.* Could any man Imagine that either so much without cause against the *Bishops*, or so many things without truth for theselues, could haue beene vttered, if an opinion peradventure of that wherein theselues were Innocent, did not carrie them with ouermuch charitie, both to thinke all which was against them to be too vehement & too much, and all for them ouer modest and too little. Can it be thought that the Author of the plea of the Innocent, should be perswaded that the Papists had made any of the Bishops to be their enemies? or that those libels which pass vnder the name of *Admonitions, Supplication, Demonstrations, Martin, Dialogues* and such like should by any indifferent reader be thought to be either horrible, honest, or Christian? or that they had done nothing in this cause more than all Christian Ministers may, & ought to haue done? no surely; the Christian part of the world to whom our vnnaturall, violent, and ynholly contentions haue comen, are able to witnes too wel that he who hath brought a willingnes to speake euill, and hath performed it (in howe vnseemly a manner soeuer) hath beene thought by the patrons of that cause, to haue merited sufficiently the name of a brother, and to haue beene a deserued partner of their liberall contributions. This to many yong men hath beene a daungerous temptation (I meane those of the meanest sort,) who in themselues naturally haue a double aduantage to giue strength to this daungerous weakenes, The one a disposition to reprove wherein their owne innocency is thought greatest when they dare in vnseemly tearmes take vpon them to controule others; The other a hastie desire to seeme of some account, which, in an ordinary course without great labour is not easily attained, where as euil speaking and vnseasonable raylings (Commonly called *Zealous preaching*) bringeth them (at least among their partiall followers) into an opinion of learning, innocency, and purified Zeale; But let these men vnderstand, that where readers are of Indifferency (as some times their Bookes fall into the hands

offsuch)(though for the most part they are dispersed amongst the Brethren of the cause) they gaine this Iust *Censure*; That *that cause cannot be good which hath not other patrons to support it, than those who haue learned nothing, but only to speake euill.* I am sorie the inferiour sort of our Clergie, are both so ignorant themselves, and haue possessed their auditors with the same error, that we may not allow any thing vsed in the Church of *Rome*, no more than any thing vsed in any assembly of the Heathen whatsoever; So that whilst ouer bitterly we distast euerie thing, which is in vse in that Church (whose greatest part is infected with much error) we breed an opinio in those who are not fully resolved, that we rather mislike many things because they vse them, than for that we are able to giue a reason why we doe mislike them. The best course in this had beene first to haue made Demonstration that the same things being vsed by diuers are all one; or that those things contended for by authority in our Church, were not in the better and former times of the Church or are not of an indifferant nature, neither can be made lawfull by any circumstance. These things being neglected and other meanes vsed, lesse reasonable, and lesse honest, we conclude that the proceeding of the *Reformers* hetherto, hath beene altogether vnlawfull and without warrant.

CHAR.





## CHAP. V.

*Of Contentions.*

**T**Here was neuer any thing more fatal to the prosperitie of Gods Church thā the violent nourishing of *contentiō* within her Bowells; and especially by their meanes, who ought to haue been the principall Authors to procure her peace; for where euery man is violent for that which himselfe likes; and partiall affection through stronge humors becommeth the best reason to plant a Religion, (a salt most visuall in those Kingdomes that are most vertuous) euery man becommeth so great an opposite, that in the ende they are in hazard to be deprived of all truth; There is nothing safer to a Kingdome than that the Religion professed be but only one, and this safetie then shall bee accompanied with much honor, when those of the same Religion, are desirous and carefull to preserve the Vnitie of the spirit in the bond of peace; otherwise it must needs come to passe that those small and first beginnings which receiued life and increase from an holy Vnion, must in the end by discord and discention, al perish. And therefore not vnwisely the Cities of *Greece* receiued of their Citizens, no other oath sauing only this, to preserve Vnion; That *Satan* hath had apt instruments to hinder this in all ages, those *Scourges* in

in the Church which are not yet thoroughly cured, shall witness well to the ages that succeed after; and the hatefull note of reproch shall remaine as a blemmish vnto their names, who rather than they would yeeld, haue been content in the midit of these flames, that the Church perish; This being the blessing annexed to the comādemēt of the holy Prophet; *Pray for the peace of Hierusalem, they shall prosper that loue thee;* As though the happines of prosperitie could not light vpon their heads; whose Tongues haue been the principall actors of contentiō in Gods Church; this being an euill by so much the lesse cureable, by how much the oppositions for Religiō be more violent. This made the *Apostle* to frame that most Eloquēt Exhortation to humilitie and peace; *If there be any Consolation in Christ, If any comfort of loue, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any compassion and mercy, fulfill my ioy that ye be like minded, hauing the same loue, being of one accord, and of Iudgement, that nothing be done through contention, or vaine Glorie.* This being the meanes to attaine vnto this perfection, *if in meeknesse of minde, euery man esteeme better of others than of himselfe,* for saith the wise man, as the Cole maketh burning Coles, and woode a fier; so the Contentious man is apt to kindle strife. In the case of the Church, wee ought to haue remembred long since, the great reason of that attonement betwixt *Lott* and *Abraham*; *Wee are Brethren*; vnlesse they in discretiō of some few haue caried them so farre that they can hardly afforde those to be termed by that name, who because their Iudgements and wisdom are farre greater, Their Religion and Zeale is thought to bee farre lesse. But we will hope much better of these men, than that sufferrance hath made them proud. and their pride more contentious, than heretofore; And therefore me thinkes it is most straung that any man should haue so little vnderstanding, as one of them hath, who make vs beleue that the Countenance of the Bishops, were more estrawged from them now than ever before; for doubtlesse if the great moderation of those persons, whom our late Sovereigne of blessed memorie thought fit to be aduansed to that place to be called Bishops, had not with more than fatherly care, restrained

Phil. 2. 1.

Prou. 26. 1.

Gen. 13. 1.

In the plea. of  
the Innoc. pag.  
83. l. 3.

ned



ned it selfe in compassion towards them, from seuerer execution of Iust lawes, their occasions of complaint peradventure would haue beene farre greater, (though not more reasonable) but surely the Vnitie of the Church had beene much more; There is nothing so daungerous as lenitie in that case, where patience giueth occasion for insolent contention, to be more proud; a thing as vn-sufferable in it owne nature at all times, so then especially most destitute of all excuse, when inferiour persons are aptest to prouoke, and the things in question in their owne iudgment, are of no great momēt: as those then haue don euill offices, who haue renewed the memorie of almost our worne errors, so are they lesse tollerable in this, that hauing poisoned the world with so euill opinions, they seeme notwithstanding earnestly, and humbly, desirous to liue in peace; assuring themselves that what difference soeuer prosperitie breedes, doubtlesse persecution would make vs to be all one; but euer reseruing this priuiledge to themselves, that the *Bishops* in submission (as offendours) must first yeeld. But if a man rightly consider the originall of this linne of contention and what affections they are which giue strength vnto it, hee can hardly in reason expect quietnesse to be found in the patrons of this cause; *pride, enuie, and vaine Glorie* are the originall fountaines of this euill; for where inferiour persons both for place and Iudgment, haue ouerualued their owne fancies by their owne conceit, it is no more like that in humilitie they should once yeeld, thā it is possible for obedient humilitie, to become proude. The distance being equall in both, only in this the disadvantage greater, that wee haue all of vs an aptnesse to doe euill, but without grace, no possible meanes in our selues to become good. Hereunto if we add the second, that as out of pride we loue our selues, so out of enuie wee hate others, no man can maruell if men that are proude, vaine glorious, and enuious, easely also bee founde contentious; for that which in different opinions maketh contentions to cease, is when men are perswaded of their betters; that they are not easily deceived, and

Ib. Plea. pag.  
84. lin. 2.

Plea. pag. 96  
line. 4.

of themselves, that they may, and doe easely erre; but all contentions are not of the same nature; for some neede no excuse when we resist as we are bound for the defence of a good cause; for other a small excuse may serue, in that being without order yet they are not scandalous; but that which is common with these men, is highly sinfull, without all colourable show of excuse, when they are more vnreuerently bitter than is becoming the grauitie of the persons with whom they strue, and more vehement than is answerable to the cause that they would defend. For the seruant of the Lord must not strue, but must be gentle towards all men, apt to teach, suffering the euill men patiently; so that if any man had these defects that were an aduersarie in this cause, *We must instruct them with meekenesse, that are contrarie minded, proouing if at any time God will giue them repentance, that they may knowe the truth; If any man teach otherwise hee is puffed vp, and knoweth nothing; but doteth about questions, and striffe of words, whereof cometh enuy, strife, raylings, euill surmisings, all which are to no profit, but to peruers the hearers.* And surely as the Apostle telleth vs *Where enuy and strifes is, there is sedition and all manner of euill workes.* But if after so much patience, so many fould, cleare, and modest defences of a iust cause, any man lust to be contentious, *we haue noe such custome, neither the Churches of God.*

Thom. Aqu.  
22. quest. 38.  
act. 1.

2. Tim. 2. 24:  
Vers. 25.

1. Tim. 6. 4.

2. Timoh. 2. 14

Iame. 3. 6.

1. Cor. 11. 16.

Thus *Contention* through the corruption of our nature being seldome limited, in the end becommeth Inordinate, and a foule sinne; and so consequently without warrant, when either we contend about that which is so true, or so trifling, that we ought not, or whether we contend in that maner that doth not become vs, or in that place; or last of all with those persons that are vnbesitting. The error in the first is that of the disciples which should be the greatest, which example saith Bede is willingly reade of many that desire fro the Scripture to finde example to warrant them to the like contention, but saith S. Ambrose if the Apostles contend it is not made a pretence of excuse for vs, but set downe for a Caueat. In the second the fault in those clamorous, rayling, and

1. de eo quod non.  
2. modo quo non.  
3. Loco:  
4. personis.

Luke. 23.

viciuill speeches by aduersaries of all sides; wherein if some in our Church had not beene too forward to answer their aduersaries in the same kind, the best causes had beene handled with better praise, and the worst had beene performed with lesse blame; hence cometh it that hee who for learning hath not deserued least, for the defence of our Church, for modestie of writing (onely excepted) hath deserued best. The place and the persons are ordinary circumstances to make our contentions to be more faultie; but seldome (though the Scholeman say other wise) doe I finde any reason for men of the Church for to warrant either. For whereas there is amongst vs *Enuying, strife, and diuisions, are we not Carnall and walke as men?* For faith Salomon, *it is a mans honor to cease from strife, but euerie foole will be meddling.* And doubtlesse if in this cause of the Church gouernment, many whose conditions and learning might Iustly haue inioyned them silence, had not beene meddling, *Moderation* with *Gravitie* might haue determined that cause, which stood only supported with a hott Zeale; And seeing the best warrant of our actions must be the sincere Testimonie of our conscience from a true feare, I wonder how some Inferiour and meane men, could thinke it lawfull for them to vndertake a matter of that moment, (nay to receiue it being almost deade) when men of farre greater learning, and dwiseome did remaine silent; some excuse peraduenture I could allowe him, if others farre more worthie had not had as much Zeale, and had not beene as farre better able to defend the cause; but it may be he taketh his labour to be well imployed, hauing made in his opinion for the good of the Church; a benifit of that small Talent, which God hath giuen him. Other ends (for which the world hath censured him hardly) I dare not accuse him of, for who am I that I should condemne an other mans seruant? *He standeth or falleth to his owne Master.* And yet as that morall wise man saith, *It little skilleth with what minde that is done, which is euill done; because the deede is seene, but the minde is not.* It is no praise nor to doe that which thou canst

Maist. Hooker.

Lawyers may.

1. Cor. 3. 3.

Prou. 20. 3.

Maist. Nichols  
in his plea.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. 14. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Nihil interest quo  
animo facimus  
quod vitiosum  
est fecisse, quia  
facta cernuntur, a-  
nimus nō videtur.

<sup>c</sup> Nulla enim laus  
est nō n̄ facere  
quod facere non  
possis. Senec.

not.

not. And if the best excuse bee allowed both to him and others, which can be afforded in so euill a cause, wee must needs say; *That contention in the Church, is the hurtfull effect of indiscrete Zeale.* And howsoever men boldly apply that to themselves, which was spoken by our Saviour Christ. *The Zeale of thine house hath euen eaten mee;* yet they little consider that with this Zeale of Gods honor, which eateth them, they haue no warrant that Gods house should be eaten by them; true Zeale saith S. *Austine* desireth in his place to amend what is a misse, but if he cannot, he doth tollerate it, and sigh; for there is a Zeale that proceedeth from rancor and malice, but not from loue.

Mat. 2.

*Emendare non  
quiescit si emenda-  
re non potest, tol-  
lerat, et gemit.*  
Aug.

Extraordinarie Zeale which exceedeth the limits of our priuate calling, is then only no sinne, when it proceedeth from the power of the spirit, and not a priuate motion; the same spirit warranting that Zeale by giuing an extraordinary power, as also an vrefistable strength; all which were found in our Saviour, in the sonne of *Eleezer*, in the Sonnes of *Leuei*, in *Eliab*; and diuers others. And if the *Pleader* hath performed any thing either more powerfully or more effectually than other men, we are readie to confesse that this newe Contention arose from a holy Zeale; But under this colour, daungerous attempts haue beene committed in Gods Church. Thus *Anabaptist* in *Germanie* cut off his brothers head in the sight of his Parents, perswading them that the holy Ghost was the Author of that fact; But because he could not make the Magistrate to beleuee so much, hee himselfe by their sentence indured the same death.

*Zealus Liuioris,  
non amoris.*

Math. 21;  
Numb. 25. 7,  
Exod. 32.  
1. King. 18. 4

And it were fitt all these *Zealous* murderers of their brethren by their hot contentions, were examined by the Magistrate of their lawfull calling; for it is great pitie that Religion and Zeale (and sometimes peraduenture a good cause, all which are most innocent) should suffer the reproach of a shamefull Act; but such *Zealous* persons haue beene in all ages who vnder pretense to reforme Religion haue been the worst men and the greatest enemies that

*Zelatores.*  
*Ioseph. lib. 5. de*  
*bello Iudaico.*  
*cap. 5. et lib. 6.*  
*cap. 1: 2.*

Religion had, when *Clautius & Nero* gouerned, there were some that called themselues (*Zealatores*) and vnder that name were earnest for Religion, vntil theselues had brought fier to consume the Temple for which they stroue; and surely if humane reason haue leaue to coniecture what is like to be the euent of these euils, *Asheisme, prophanes* and sacrilege, must al enter at the dore of Contention, to burn vp Religion, & to robbe the Church. And howsoeuer peace be best built vpon redemptio of wrongs, for other wise to make an Vnicie without repeting the causes of discord is but rather to please vs with the name, than with equitie to compound the wrongs; wherein if we had beene the first (yet it may appeare, that we are not willing to vrge the Authors of these Contentions too farre) in giuing a beginning to his euill, surely their fault must needes be the greater which will not suffer it to haue an ende; *alter principium malo dedit, alter modum abstulit*; neither can we excuse the bitterness of some whose paines were little required to haue laboured in this cause as the former in the impure contentions of *Martinisme* defaced the gouernment of the Church in the persons of *Bishops* and *Prelates*, so the other sort did lead into contempt, the exercises of religion in the persons of sundrie Preachers, disgracing (as one well noteth) the higher matter though in the meaner person; we can be content to thinke that in many the beginning of these euils was a detestation which they had to the Church of *Rome*. But we wish such men to know, that first they haue inured greatly the Church of Christ by hindering that increase which Religion in this Land might haue had, if these violently had not beene ouer willing to contend with all men; and then that as there is nothing of more use, so nothing in respect can be of greater danger in Religion than Zeale is; for this if it be directed aright, is mother of much holines, but being mislead, is the Adulterous step-mother of much Hypocrisie; and doubtlesse the corrupt fountaine of the greatest and most dangerous contentions that haue troubled this Church; hath bin the false opinion of vndiscret Zeale, and when our contentions growe strong they spoyle (saith *Salomon*) a house full of sacrifices;

sacrifices; and lest they should thinke wee are willing and esteeme it an honor to contend with them, we say we haue taught the truth, the auncient and perpetuall government of the Church, we haue maintained the reformed discipline, by the example of the first and best Churches after the time of persecution; we teach nothing but the pure Gospell of Christ; wee administer the Sacraments as wee ought; we are and haue learned to bee obedient to those that rule ouer vs; we wish and provide that the Ministerie of England may be learned, that men may be diligent in that honorable fructiō committed to them, that all Idolatrie and superstition may be banished, in one word that the Church may be cured from all their infirmities by the hand of authoritie, and those lawfull meanes provided for her safetie; that noe rayling and contentious speeches to the disgrace of any mans person may be vsed by vs; and if any man teach otherwise and consenteth not to the wholesome words of the Lord Iesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to Godlinesse, hee is puffed vp and knoweth nothing, but doateth about questions & strife of words  
1. Timoth. 6. 4. 5.  
 whereof commeth enuy, strife, raylings, euill surmises, froward disputation of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, which thinke that gaine is godlines; for doubtlesse the wrath of man doth not accomplish the righteousness of God; for where enuy and strife is there is sedition and all manner of euill workes, but wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without iudging,  
Iame. 3. 16. 17.  
 and without Hypocrisie; and the fruit of righteousness is sowne in peace, of them that can make peace. Wee therefore beseech you brethren by the mercies of Christ,  
*Let vs be all of one minde, let vs seeke peace and ensue it, let there be no strife I pray you betwext you & vs neither betwext your beardsmen nor our heard-men, for we are Brethren.*  
Gen. 13. 8.  
 But if they will needes proceede in this intemperat manner, to nourish the flame of these vnhalloved Contentions, which both strengthen the aduersaries, and weaken our selues; we can but wish that authoritie may cause their writings

to bee abortiue and not see the Sunne; but if their policies in this doo prevent lawes, our next desire is, they may bee censured by all that haue Vnderstanding and Conscience, as the intemperate and extrauagant conceits of some giddie headed persons, and that men beware (except they meane to aduenture to deprive themselves of all sence of Religion, and to paue their owne hearts, and make them like the high way) how they bee consuerfant in them, and giue credit or beliefe vnto them. Therefore to conclude this poynt, seeing contentions are of that daunger, and that zeale is no warrant to ouerthrow the Church, let vs all follow the counsaile which the Angel gaue vnto *Agar, Returns vnto thy dame, and humble thy selfe vnder her hands.* There is no vertue that better becometh vs that are inferiors, than Patience and Humilitie. Therefore we exhort with the Apostles. *But God be shanked, that ye haue become the seruants of sinne, but ye haue obeyed from the heart vnto the forme of the doctrine, whereunto ye were deliuered. Being then made free from sinne, ye are made the seruants of righteousness.* Let vs not bee desirous of vaine glory, prouoking one another, enuying one another. For where enuying and strife is, there is sedition, and all manner of euill workes. But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle; easie to bee intreated, full of mercie and good fruits, without iudging, and without hypocrisie. And the fruits of righteousness is sown in peace, of them that make peace.

Gen. 16. 9.

Rom. 16. 17.

18.

Gal. 5. 26.

Iamcs. 3. 16.

17

18

CHAP.





## CHAP. VI.

*Of Ceremonies.*

Here men are apt to mislike things of necessarie vse, the entrance for the most part into that contempt is through the distasting of those things which are of a meaner nature, and serue but in the opinion of wise men onely to make the act of deuotion to be more solemn; Solemnitie in some measure being a necessarie adiunct to all publike seruice. And whilst it stirreth men with greater holinesse to become outwardly religious, whilst it stayeth men from wauering in that they do, and others from contempt of that which is done (all being by these outward Solemnities better prepared) we cannot but account them the hedge of deuotion, and though not the principall points, yet as some of the fathers call them the second Intentions of the law; *Intermeditate* meanes not to be despised of a better and more religious seruice. This whilst some in our Church haue either not vnderstood, or not much regarded, they haue earnestly laboured (as for a matter of great moment) that because the Jews had a religiō full of Ceremonies, the most part whereof being *types* are in their particular so far ceased; & because the Church of *Rome* hath not limited the infinit burden, in this kind; partly idle, partly needles, & the greatest part through the corruption of time, being growen superstitious; these

*Secunda intentiones Legis.*

in

in opposition to all the rest, onely misunderstanding the time of Grace, are desirous to haue Religion, without any Ceremonies at all. As if the same God who seeing the weakenesse of his owne people, and therefore ledd them as if it were by Ceremonies to that worship which was fittest for them, and for that time; and who euer since hath bene the Author, and approouer of *solemne order*, especially in the *publike action of Religion*, did now eyther see vs to bee so absolute, as that these outward helpes were of no vse, or that all Ceremonies were but shadowes of things to come, not ornaments and helpes to things present, did meerey with the passion of his Sonne, cancell all kinde of worship that had any solemnities or Ceremonies (how vertuous soeuer) annexed to it. But as to think that Ceremonies without true and inward holinesse, could cleanse them from their sinne were to erre, and to be Iewish and superstitious, so to account them of no vse, were to be meerey prophane. Wee call them *Ceremonies*, properly all such thinges as are the externall act of Religion, which haue their commendation and allowance, from no other cause but onely that in Gods worship they are vertuous furtherances of his honour. For Religion which is the height and perfection of all *Morall* vertues, conteyneth in it three actes as all other vertues doo; the first the Internall, which is the willing desire to giue vnto God his due worship and honour; secondly, the externall, answering to this, which is no otherwise good, or commendable than that it vertuously serueth to this end; thirdly, the commaunded act, that is the act of euery vertue ordained by religion to Gods honour; so fasting, almes, and such like are tearmed the Actes of Religion, when they are done for Gods worship, howsoeuer otherwise they are properly the actes of other vertues. This the Apostle calleth *pure Religion and vndisfled before God euen the Father, so visit the fatherlesse and widows, in their aduersity, and to keepe himselfe vnspotted of the world*, in their aduersity, and to keepe himselfe vnspotted of the world, *Saint Austine* saith that God is worshipped with *Faith, Hope, and Charity*, of these three the first is no way Ceremoniall,

Iam. 1. 27.

Encherid. cap. 3.

moniall. The third likewise is no Ceremonie, but as it is an act inioyned by Religion; *but the second is properly* that which concerneth the Ceremoniall part of Gods worship. All antiquitie was euer so farre from misliking of those, that they had almost placed Religion in them onely. The name which the *Hebrewes* gaue vnto Ceremonies signifieth not so much the externall act, as the law and the precept by which is was commaunded; so that in the new Testament euen those which had no longer continuãce but vntill *Iohn*, (for then began the Iewish Ceremonies to decline) are tearmed by our Sauour by the name of the Law Matth. 23. and the Prophets. Saint *Paul* calleth them Iustifications, because they were Rites instituted & ordayned to that end, Gal. 5. With them they were the Images of heauenly things opposite to the Images of the Heathen; & howsoever we follow neither of them in the particular, the one being the Idolatrous prophanation of an Heathenish superstition, the other but the externall seruice appropriate to that people, and to that time: yet wee dare not, seeing no Religion can want all Ceremonies, fall so headlong to the error on eyther side, as to embrace or refuse, all those Ceremonies that the Church hath. Now as it is the yn happinesse of Religion to bee ouerloaden with Ceremonies, so in those that haue authoritie, not to establish by law such as are needefull, is a defect; to neglect them in those that ought to bee obedient, is a fault; but to contemne them in any that liue in the bosome of the same Church, must needs bee the manifest argument of their pride, and in the end the vtter ruine of Religion it selfe. For in the Ceremonies of the Law, there were three things to bee obserued; first, that they were all ordayned *for the expressing of the inward and morall worship*, to serue to true holinesse, *Faith, Hope, and Charity*, without which all the rest were reiecte (euen as a burthen) by him that commaunded them; saying, *I will haue mercy but not sacrifice: for obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken is better than the fat of Rammes*. Secondly, if Ceremonies be contrarie to true holines, they were to be omitted, (for their end was to further deuotion, not to hinder it)

*Iudicialia sunt  
moralia in ordine  
ad proximum:  
Ceremonialia  
sunt moralia in  
ordine ad deum.  
1 Sam. 15. 22.*

Iol. 5.

2. Mach. 6. & 7.  
 Livie. lib. 5.  
 Pal. Max. li. 2. 1  
 a Cereudo,  
 Aug. lib. 2. Re-  
 tract. cap. 37.  
 Gell. lib. 4. 9.  
 Macrobi. Saturn.  
 lib. 2. cap. 3.

In this respect they were dispensable, when eyther by the place or time, (two violent circumstances of all our actions) or for some impediments they could not well be reserved; in this respect *Circumcision* was omitted for those that were borne in the desert, as being vnfit to moue immediately after that wound, and being vncertaine to rest, seeing they must follow the fire, or the cloud when they moved. Thus in persecution we are content rather to exercise Religion without Ceremonies, than to want it; which in peace to neglect, or contemne, must needs be a great offence. Those times being fittest to serue God with greater reuerence and holier solemnities, which are compassed about with greater rest and more happie blessings. Lastly, when Ceremonies are requisite to testifie our faith; (as doubtlesse they are then when they are through misunderstanding oppugned) wee may not in conscience remit any part of them; for the refusing of such, can be no small sin, where the vsing is blessed with the crowne of martyrdom. But seeing as some thinke, fro the particular deuotion of the town *Carr*, or as others fro wanting (being a religious restraint) they are called Ceremonies, we need not to doubt in the beginning, eyther that vertuous office which they did, or those religious abstinences which they performed, ioyned Religion & Ceremonies with that nearnesse, as that neither was absolutely perfect, where both were not. This vnkinde separation, (one of the sower fruits that haue growen in this latter age) is a great wound giuen vnto Religion, doubtlesse in many (for I will not excuse all) only fro the abundance of too much loue. Al Ceremonies may be deuided thus. Some were for Iustifications such as the law commaded, whereby the obseruer was made more purified, and more holy. In place whereof afterward succeeded those that were for ornament and to signifie such vertues as were requisite in those parties that rightly vse them. Secondly, in respect of the Author, some were the ordinances of Nature, as to looke vp to heauen, to lift vp the hands, to bow the knees, to knocke the breast, and such like when wee pray; things vsed in their deuotion by the Heathen themselues; others were appointed by God himselfe,

himselfe, some by the Apostles, and the Bishops, that succeed in her place; Thirdly, some are parts of the immediate worship, as sacrifice, prayer, adoration, and such like, some onely dispose, as fasting, austere living, some are onely instruments, as Churches, Altars, Chalises, and all those, which religiously being separated, serue onely to make the deuotion more solemne, and that solemnitie to be more holy. Fourthly, of these, some respect persons, sometimes, some other concerne places, all which concurring in a diuine worship are with Ceremonies by separation made sacred, and so fitter to serue vnto holy vices. Lastly, some are particular, some more general & vniuersal, as the *fasting vpon the Sabbath in S. Austins time* was obserued at Rome but not at Milan; as also the washing of feet after baptisme, was obserued at Milan but not at Rome; in all which saith the same Father *there is no discipline can be better, than in these to follow the custom of the place wherunto we come.* This counsaile gaue Saint Ambrose to Saint Austen, that none might offend him, nor he might offend any. A graue moderation, which doubtlesse if it were found in all, which desire to bee examples to others of a better life, the shoues of Religion could not haue wanted so much deuotion, nor the sinewes of the Church, could haue beene racked with so little pittie. For in this kinde, the same persons may in contrarie places performe contrarie things, & both well. As Zachary receiue Christ into his house with ioy, and the Centurion with as much prayse say, Lord I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter into my house; both honouring their Sauiour by a diuers maner, both miserable in their sinnes, and both obteyning mercy. For in alterations of custome, that which may helpe peradventure with the profit of it, doubtlesse with the noueltie of change will do more hurt. The best remembrance in this case wil be this, *That the end of the commandment is love out of a pure hart & a good conscience & of faith vnfeigned; so that which things some haue erred, & haue turned vnto vain tangling; they would be doctors of the law, & yet understand not what they speak neither wherof they affirme. For love is the fulfilling of the law, and therefore whosoener sheweth art saith S.*

*Nec disciplina  
vlla in his melior  
gravi prudenti-  
que Christiano  
quam vt eo modo  
agat quo agere  
viderit ecclesia  
ad quamcunque  
deuenerit. Aug.  
Epist. 113.*

Luke. 18.

Math. 23.

*Ipsa quippe mu-  
tatio consuetu-  
dinis etiam que  
adiuuat utilitate  
nouitate pertur-  
bat. Aug.  
1. Tim. 3. 6. 7.  
Rom. 13. 10.*

1. Cor. 13. 4.

*Austen, that readest either this, or any other, so read and so learn  
 that thou thinkest this to be truly spoken, knowledge puffeth vp, but  
 Charity buildeth: this suffereth long, it is bountifull, enuieeth not,  
 doth not boast it selfe, is not puffed vp; for preseruatiō of Vnitie,  
 being that whereunto in this kinde all mult ayme, it is fittest  
 for those who finde Ceremonies in vse not vnlawfull in a-  
 ny Church, rather to obserue them keeping the Vnitie of  
 the spirit in the bonde of peace, than with the hazard of  
 scisme, to striue to annihilate these, and to establish those  
 that are much better. For in the vse of Ceremonies at this day  
 our Church doth not so farre differ from the endes of the  
 first institution of them, that though her reasons be not the  
 same, yet shee retaineth nothing, that in substance & truth,  
 is directly opposite. The first end of the Iewish Ceremo-  
 nies, was that by them as by certaine elements the people  
 might be retained in the seruice of God, as a childe vnder  
 the gouernment and discipline of his father; for where men  
 are not restrained within some bounds & limits for external  
 worship, discensions through affectation of singularitye,  
 serue as wel by a general contempt to make men prophane,  
 as continuall new and vnlmited additions of Ceremonies  
 doe make them superstitious. Those rites then to them (and  
 so in proportion to vs) serued as sinewes to hold all and  
 euery seuerall member of the Church, in Religious inuoca-  
 tion and worship of the true God. A second end was,  
 that they might haue a worshipp, neither outwardly ouer  
 naked, nor apparelled like that which the Gētiles had; a rea-  
 son doubtlesse to vs, not lesse forcible than to them, who  
 haue in our eye neere at hand, such as are richly attired in  
 this kinde, with whom we shall ouer easily fall in loue, and  
 dislik our own seruice of God, if we haue not some external  
 Ceremonies, which we are able to defende both to be as fit  
 for Gods seruice, as naturall and comely warranted by  
 Gods word, and seruing as wel to that end, namely his wor-  
 ship as all the Ceremonies either of Heathens, the *Iewes*, or  
 the Church of *Rome* doe.*

*And surely whilst some honest mindes, for profitable  
 ends haue laboured to vnburthen the Church of many Ce-  
 remonies,*



remories, they haue done nothing els, but vntyle the house, that the Rafter the Beames & the maine timber might with the violence of tempests more speedily perish. The third end was, to make knowne vnto men by an externall worship, that holinesse which in hart they professed vnto him; that man hauing two parts, and he the Author of both, it might not be his fault, to be defectiue in either of them. Yet as wholly to depend vpon outward Ceremonies is but Hypocrisie, so altogether to neglect them vnder pretence to worshipping him in spirit, is but to sinne with more libertie vnpunished, and vncontrouled. Lastly, the comlineesse of order, and the preservation of humane Societie, are not the contemptible ends for the vse of Ceremonies. For seeing order is the ornament of all Societies, and seeing the Church, of all Societies is most excellent, it must needs follow, that those things which (Ciuille done) doe adorne others, vnciuilly neglected, or continued, doe disgrace the Church. And I am sorrie that in the earnest contention for Church gouernment men are so backward in the allowance of Church Ceremonies, seeing wise men of sound iudgment, haue made them a part of the Church discipline. Yet Ceremonies are not all of like nature, some being absolutely necessarie and common to all, others not so necessary, and to some; it is fitte that for all men in the furtherance of Gods worshipping, there should bee a sanctification of persons, times and places, which if either they were not done at all, or done without Ceremonie, the corruption of mans nature would easily esteeme them to be vnholly.

*Zanch. in 4. pre-  
cep. pag. 696.*

For although God be to be worshipped at all times, and that as Christ saith, the Kingdome of Heauen commeth not by obseruation either of time or place; yet because whole Churches must assemble, which cannot be done without these, nor these rightly be thus seuered without Ceremonies, all antiquitie hath allowed the distinction of these, and the vse of sober and moderate Ceremonies in the separation of them; that being rightly to be reamed *Religious*, which for the holinesse we leaue to imploy vnto

*Religiosum a  
relinquendo.  
Massarius Sabinus in Gell. lib.  
4. cap. 3.*



common vses. And howsoever it may be not altogether vnfit, (at least it ought not to be offensive) that Churches, though all reformed are in this different (for so in the obseruation of Easter the East and the West were diuers *Africa* and *Italie Rome* and *Milaine*) in which our Rule must be with humilitie and loue, to be all things to all, yet it is many waies conuenient, to haue an vnitie if it were possible, of Ceremonies for the whole Church. First, that all may abstaine from that worshipping which is Heathenish; Secondly, not to inuent a peculiar worship of our owne, a thing neither safe to be done, nor easily without better directions to be left vndone. Thirdly, to remoue offence, for weakenesse not able to discerne, that the meanes often are diuers where the end is but one, from the differing in Ceremonies, haue thought a contrarietie and difference to be in Religion it selfe. Lastly, to let vs know that God will be worshipped externally, and with order; this being the best wittnesse, and nourishing of that worshipping which is within. And doublelesse the Ceremoniall worship in generall is from the lawe of nature, although some speciall doe proceede from the lawe positieue; so that both respecting the vse, which is manifolde, & the practise both before the lawe, vnder the law, and since, (for the Church of God vpon earth did neuer want Ceremonies) it must needes seeme strange that the peeuishnesse of some few, and they none of the greatest vnderstanding, should preuaile so far, that things of more necessarie vse (as the word of Sacraments) should be amongst the people distasted, only for the obseruation of some few Ceremonies, and yet these neither many, nor the fancies of private men; as if the obedience of inferiours with humilitie in this case, were like the sinne of the sonnes of *Elie*, for which men abhorred the offerings of the Lord. All men confesse that the Ceremonies of the *Jewes*, (*presignifying*) are to be remoued, but not those in the Church which established by Authoritie, serue onely for order, and the better worship. Yet all men of sound iudgment must needes graunt, that for their vertue; they are all inferior to the word and the Sacraments; & for their number,

1. Cor. 9.

1  
Deut. 10. 2.

2

3

4

1. Sam. 2. 17.

ber, they ought to be so limited, that with their vnreasonable multitude, they ouerwhelme not that worshippe; which with their *order* and *comlineſſe* they ought to further. For as husbandmen are content the Branches of the Vine so long to growe, and spread, vntill thereby they procure the grapes to become fewer; so in the Church the admission and retaining of Ceremonies are so farre lawfull, vntill by their *error* and *defect*, either in *subſtance* or *number*, religion and deuotion become colder. And if the opinion of them, who hold the Church may ordaine Ceremonies for instructions, ornament, and order, had extended it selfe likewise to account them, a bond of diuine worshipping (so farre as positiuelawes may serue to increaſe deuotion) their assertion doubtlesse had bene much sounder, and the people had excercised religion with greater holinesse, and more peace; but in this we haue dealt (as in our religious seruice) where few things can be rightly ordered that are carried with a doubtfull and headlong course. The originall of this cuill, is as a wise man noteth; *That wee haue numbred the opinions of others, but not weighed them*; a sweete error seru-  
 ing but to make vs to loue that, wherein, at length wee must needs perishi.

*Luther in lib. de  
pys Cermonijs.  
Melanch. loc. cū.*

*Nihil ordinatum  
est quod precipi-  
tatur et prope-  
rat. Sen. epist. 40.*

A thousand.

But if any man thinke (as surely it is the opinion of some) that those Ceremonies ordained by Christ or his Apostles, are fit inought to be retained in the Church, but the rest as being made without warrant haue no warrant to remaine still, we answere that of all which Christiā Churches (how much soeuer corrupted doe, or shal vse) there is by vs noe defence vndertaken for them; yet wee doubt not that euery particular Church, may & our Church hath, lawfully ordained some Ceremonies, which ought religiously to be obserued, & more also if the church so thought fit; not hereby to iustifie any & to make him righteous, but for ends that are spiritual; and many waies behoue full to Gods worship. First for ornament, a thing which I woder in al other cases should be accounted a vertue, & in religion only should be esteemed a vice. Herein whilst we haue shined iustly, the glorious vanity of superstitious worship, we haue familiarly  
 fallen

fallen to despise the persons, the place, the times, and almost that dutie, which we would honor; and all onely through the neglect of some due Ceremonies. Secondly, to stirr vp deuotiō, a thing apt inough through our vanities to become small, vnlesse some externall helps may be added for to make it greater. Neither can the accessse of Ceremonie in the consecration of new times, or new places, be otherwise vnderstood, than the faithfull acknowledgment of special new, & extraordinary fauours, that we haue receiued. Neither ought the memorie of the resurrection so to swallow vp, in vnthankfulness all other benefits of a lesser nature, as if the obseruation of other times were to be accounted an vnhalloved prophanatiō of the Lords Sabbath, And surely those Rites, which before, lawfull ordination were left free, after, in conscience doe binde to the obseruation of the. So that what priuate opinions may fancie vnto them selues, are but slender exemptions for the breach of lawes; these imposing a restraint with their due Ceremonies established by authoritie from vsing respects, and behauiours that are common, towarde persons, places, and times which are all solemnly appointed to a holy vse. If this had been throughly weighed by a number in our Church, neither would the contempt of them haue beene so vsuall and so pardonable a fault, nor the defence haue beene thought ouer violent loue to superstition onely.

Rom. 13.  
2. Cor. 13.  
Hedr. 13.

*In quibus nec  
ego dissentire  
nostris salua  
gratia, nec con-  
sentire salua  
Conscientia pos-  
sum. Sen. epist.*

117:

But in these things with some amongst vs can neither dissent with their good fauour, nor consent with them with a good conscience.

And if any man thinke that Ceremonies are of that nature, that the obseruation of them is onely indifferent and lesse free, let him consider the great and violent discensions in the Church that haue risen for them, and how Councils haue condemned them as heretikes, onely for being stiffly opposite in this kinde. The first dissention almost in the Church was for legall Ceremonies which afterward was determined with this word; these necessaries, to abstaine from blood, and frō strangling. The second  
great

great diffention was for Easter day: neither was it thought then a small matter for which Pope *Victor* the first of that name, would haue separated all *Asia* from the vnitie of the faithfull, onely for being disobedient in that point; which afterwards was not the least occasion for assembling the counsell of *Nice*, the council of *Antioch* not long after excommunicating all such, as for the obseruation of Easter rested not in the determination of the *Nicen* Councell. To conclude, all that were willing to obserue it otherwise, by *Epiphanius*, *Austin*, and *Theodoret*, are accounted heretikes. After this some such dissentions arose about baptisme, not for the essence, but the ceremonies in it; the violence of which resisting, was not the least imputatiō to al the *Donatists*. After these succeeded hotter contentions, but for matters of lesse moment; in al which the oppugners of established order, euen in the lowest parts of religion, were little better accounted of the fathers, than plaine heretikes. The beginning of things (saith *Seneca*) proceede slowly, but losses runne headlong; the causes of euill, are vsually in a tumult, and breake out (as in this) from whence they are least feared; for whatsoeuer either person, or place, or custome, hath many admirers for the holines, must needes for the holines haue many to be enuiers of it: but in things whereunto men doe easily fall, discipline by authoritie must restraine such, when singularitie is in daunger to make a schisme; for where to make alteration in this kinde is allowed to all men, a dissolution saith *Caluin*, must needes follow in the sinewes of that Church. Neither doe we make (as in precepts of a higher nature) euery defect to be a great sinne, but neglect in ceremonies is then no small fault, when disobedience and contempt are ioyned with it. Our care in religion appearing by so much the greater, that wee are loth to neglect the adherents of it. For the contempt which willingly is offered vnto these, will easily without resistance extend it selfe to the overthrow of all religion. There is nothing can be a surer preseruer of religion, than to keepe it from contempt; a thing not easily done, where it is left destitute, and de-

*Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 25.*

*Epiph. heres. 70. Arianas in Epist. de Synod. Arimin. & Sententia. Cap. 1. Epiph. her. 50. Aug. Heres. 29. Theodor. lib. 3.*

*August. Heres. 23. Epiph. her. 45.*

*Incrementa lente exeunt; festinat in damnum; Nihil stabile est tumultuantibus causis, mala vnde minime expectantur erumpunt. Sen. epist. 91.*

*Quam magnam mirantium tam magnam inuidentium. Sen. de vita beata. Calvin Instit. lib. 4. cap. 10.*

27.

priued of holy ceremonies. For the principall excellencie of our religion being spirituall, is not easily obserued, of the greatest number which are carnall; and therefore we propound not naked mysteries, but cloth them; that these offering to the senses a certaine maiestie, may be receiued of the minde with a greater reuerence. And therefore some of the fathers, accounting them as the shell to the kernell, haue said that no religion either true or false, was possible to consist without them. So that amongst the auncient to be a diuine, was nothing else but to know what deities were to be worshiped, with what ceremonies. And amongst the Jewes as a thing of greatest importance *Iethro* wisheth *Moses* to referre ciuill iudgements to others, and himselfe to instruct them in the ceremonies and rites of Gods worship; the ignorance whereof as it hath brought much harme into the Church, so it is sharply reprobued by some of the Fathers that haue been before vs. These if they had serued to no other vse yet were they manifest and honorable distinctions betwixt them that were heretikes, and those of the true Church; in whom howsoeuer we cannot iudge of their sinceritie, and religion that is inward, yet by the vse of these, we may easily discerne, what Church in her worship they would seeme to follow; for to cast away in time of persecution, the badge and signes of their warfare, was to discouer vnto the world that they were cowardly souldiers. *Tertullian* reporteth of one, who chose rather to die, then with the rest of the souldiers to be crowned with lawrell; onely in this respect, that the christians had a ceremonie not to doe it. Now if any man aske me a rule, whereby to discerne in this varietie of ceremonies which are to be reiected and which allowed; we say with the Apostle; *Let all things be done honestly, and by order; for true wisdom teacheth sobernes, and prudence, righteousness, and strength, which are the most profitable things that men can haue in this life.* Bur if any man shall thinke, that ceremonies being externall things in religion, are not to be exacted with such violence, that their carefull refusing should

*Aug. lib. 9.  
contr. Faust.  
manich. cap. 11.*

*Theologus.  
Plato in Dial.  
de Regno.*

*Exod. 18. 20.*

*Basil. epist. 63.  
Leo. epist. 4.  
Innoc. epist. 1.*

*Placendum est  
diuini oculis  
& habitu corporis  
& modo vocis; Cypr. in  
Ser. de orat.  
dom.  
1 lib. de Coron.  
militia.*

*1. Cor. 14. 40.*

*Wisd. 8. 7.*

should depriue them of performance of greater good; these in my opinion first erre in the ouer slight estimation of ceremonies, and then if they were but of that nature (as contemptibly they thinke of them) the alteration of such belongeth not to them, neither haue they (where obedience is commaunded) reason to refuse conformitie with so much stomacke; especially in matters which by them are accounted of that nature. But because some of them thinke that ceremonies are but small things, and yet that *a small thing may trouble the eye, as these the conscience*; I am sorry that they haue so farre weighed the hurt which themselues might receiue by doing of them, and so lightly valued the harmes they haue offered by their wilfull disobedience, to the lawfull ordinations of a reformed member of Christs Church. If the Church of England retained any ceremonies that were vnholly and *superstitious demonstration* should haue been made in this kinde, *what they are: how many: of what nature: why dangerous:* to which doubts (being the sober demaunds of a weak conscience) if due satisfaction could not haue been giuen, doubtlesse those who had the execution of such lawes, would haue giuen tolleration for a time, that they might be resolued, if by their humilitie they manifested a desire that they had to learne: but seeing they confesse that by the late Quenes Iniunctions, all *superstitious ceremonies are taken away, as shrines, tables, pictures,* and such like (a testimonie not vnworthely giuen to the *reformed government of so good a Prince*) it is but a slender exception annexed, *such doe we take the surplesse to be.* A weak eye surely would haue seene a difference, and an humble minde would haue indured much more, rather then by such violent oppositions to haue so farre troubled the Churches peace. I cannot well obserue in the tennor of that last defence, *the Plea of the innocent*, what their constant opinion is concerning the ceremonies misliked in our Church; vnlesse they meane that they are *idle, indifferent, and humane ordinations*, whilst they are *commaunded*; but *being disobeyed* by them, they are *weightie, and*

Nichols in the  
Plea. pag 16.  
lin. 1.9.

Nichols in the  
Plea of the  
Innoc pag. 43.  
lin. 10.  
Marke the  
word all.



great causes, able to warrant resistance and rebellion in the highest measure. I wish they would either account them as *trifles*, and so being commaunded not so listly refuse to vse them; or else esteeme them *matters of great moment*, and so thinke the gouernors of the Church haue reason, and warrant so much to vrge them. But the things say they in controuersie *which wee desire to bee reformed and others earnestly maintaine, are but accessarie additaments, brought into the Church by humane constitution, and with-*

Nichols pag.  
91. lin. 27.

Pag. 92. lin. 17.

Nichols in the  
Plea pag. 124.  
lin. 18.

Nichols. pag.  
91. 27.

Tenuissimum  
dadium, pertin-  
et si diligenter  
inspexeris.  
Sewer.

Nich. pag. 171  
lin. 9.

*out these the religion would stand.* But we are sure that once being brought in, they are to be obeyed for conscience; and surely the religion that would stand without them, with them shall be able to stand much better. Many things which are not requisit for *the being*, are notwithstanding required, *to the well being*. But afterward speaking of themselves, as desirous to be iustified for their dealing in this cause, *they call it a good iust and waightrie cause founded in Gods word; iniuriously reputed and tearmed, an accidentall fancie, and deuise.* I hope wise men from their owne wrtings will obserue the dealings of these men; that they may not be vrged by authoritie to obedience (a poynt of religion I wish they had well learned) they call these things but *additaments*, fit enough to bee contemned, because they are *humane constitutions*; and yet after to approue their obstinacie for refusing of them, they call them *waightrie causes*; this contrarietie may peraduenture deceiue some, but truch at the length will discouer it selfe. *Falshood is slight and shines through if we looke into it.* These onely mislike what they are not authors of themselves, and euer labour for excuses, as reasons to warrant what they doe mislike. They thinke and say *it is pittie necessarie service* (wherein I thinke they vnderstand their preaching) *should be haulden backe, by these vnnessearie ceremonies.* But if *vnnessearie* (whereof it is not fit for them to be iudges) why doe they not rather yeeld vnto them by conformitie, then deprive themselves by their obstinacie, of doing that good, which by obedience they might? and if any man thinke these ceremonies vnlawfull (as weaknes

may



may stumble in the plainest way) why doe not they who haue cast these doubts, show which they are, the daungers of them; and aduertise those as becommeth them that make lawes, seeing we vse none but those which the law doth warrant? besides if abuses had crept in with these ceremonies, and things tollerated first for good ends, could not afterward be retained, but with great abuse, these only had been to be remoued by *authoritie*, and not from the fancies of priuate men. It is their error who thinke it the act of reformation to take things away and not ouely the abuse; for reformation is properly the repetition and restitution of the auncient vse; neither can that be said to be reformed which is made new; far be it from vs saith an auncient Father that things which are good and lawfull, if through the corruption of some few they become hurtfull, that this should be imputed to vs as our fault. For thus the vse of all things were daungerous and vnlawfull, seeing nothing can be so profitably imployed from whence daunger may not arise, vnto those that shall vse them otherwise. Doubtles they haue done much in this that haue been before vs, yet some thing may be added by those which follow; wherein if we alter or dissent from them, it can be no blemish to their names, which are not mentioned by vs, but with much honor. It is sufficient Rome knew not Cato but when she lost him. And the innocencie & vertue of Rutilius had laine secret, if he had not receined iniurie. But diseases (as a wise man noteth) sometimes ouertake those that are most temperate; punishement those that are most innocent; & tumults those that are most secret. But to conclude this point (and to iustifie the Church of England, in the matter of ceremonie, wherein she hath heard euil, by some of her owne children without cause) I doubt not to affirme, that few men haue euer red any iudgement, or censure of ceremonies written with greater moderation and learning, then that which is published next after the preface in the Communion booke, out of which it shall not bee amisse, to note the iust reprehension of the intemperat affectours of inno-uation, as also the lawfull defence of such ceremonies

*Reformatio est repetitio vel restitutio lassi antiqui. In procm. Clement. lib. 3. §. penult. de itiner. act. 1. August. ad Publicolam. epist. 154. Multum egerunt qui ante nos fuerunt, sed non peragerunt. Senec. epist. 65.*

*Catonem non intellexit ciuitas nisi cum perdidit. Inuadit temperatissimos moribus; innocentissimos pauidissimos secretissimos tumultus. Senec. epist. 91.*

as soberly they are vsed in our Church. Cerimonies there  
 are which though they haue been deuised by man, yet it  
 is thought good to reserue them still, as well for a decent  
 order in the Church for the which they were first deuised, as  
 because they pertaine to edification wherunto all things done  
 in the Church, as the Apostle teacheth ought to be referred;  
 and although the keeping or omitting of a cerimonie in it selfe  
 considered, is but a small thing, yet the willfull and contemptu-  
 ous transgression and breaking of a common order and disci-  
 pline is no small offence before God; let all things be done  
 among you saith Saint Paul in a seemely and due order; the  
 appoyntment of which order pertaineth not to primate men,  
 therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to ap-  
 point or alter any publike or common order in Christs Church,  
 except he be lawfully called and authorised thereunto. And  
 as concerning those persons which peraduenture wil be offended  
 for that some of the old cerimonies are retained still, if they  
 consider that without some cerimonies, it is not possible to keepe  
 any order or quiet discipline in the Church, they shall easily  
 perceiue iust cause to reforme their iudgements, and if they  
 thinke much that any of the old remaine, and would rather  
 haue all deuised anew, then such men granting some cerimo-  
 nies conuenient to be had, surely where the old may be well vsed,  
 there they cannot reasonably reprove the old, onely for their  
 age, without betraying their owne folly. For in such a case,  
 they ought rather to haue reuerence vnto them for their an-  
 tiquitie, if they will declare themselves to be more studious of  
 vnitie, and concord, then of innovations and newfanglednes;  
 which as much as may be with the true setting forth of Christs  
 religion, is alwaies to be eschewed. In these our doings we con-  
 demne no other nation, nor prescribe any thing but to our owne  
 people onely. An excellent censure and graue moderation fit  
 to be considered by al that are desirous to alter our church  
 cerimonies. And surely it must needs seeme strange that  
 when all opinions how false so euer, haue had this hap-  
 pinesse that some of their maintainers haue had the coul-  
 orable helpes of learning to defend their cause; the chiefe  
 aduersaries in this, haue dealt at all times so weakely, as if

all of them purposely had ment to haue betrayed it. For to speake without partiallity what truth requireth in this poynt, the principall and first opposites, that I reade of vnto our Church ceremonies, were those that in *Queene Maries* time got the libertie to plant a Church at *Franckford*; where first ioyning with the French afterward out of their humors strengthened with some counsell from *Geneua*, so farre dissented from their religious and learned councitriemen, which hauing left their countrie for the profession of the Gospell, lay then at *Zurick*, *Strausborgh*, *Wetzell*, and *Emden*, that some bookes, and the greatest part of christendome was filled with the vnreuerent, vnholly and vnnaturall contentions of that time. This vnwise and inconsiderate dislike (yet then much more tollerable where they had some shewe of authoritie to plant a Church) kindled that fire which hath burned euer since, and without great resolution and wisdom of some in authoritie, doubtles long agoe, had burst fourth into a daungerous flame within the very bowels of our Church; and all onely from this head, that whilest the greater part was loth to yeeld to the wiser and more learned, some sparkes of that opposition (notwithstanding their shewe of reconciliation when they heard of *Queene Maries* death, daungerously brake out, when they returned home. They from *Franckesford*, wrote to them of *Zuricke* by *Maister Grindall* (after that reuerent Archbishop) and *maister Chambers*, that they thought not that any godly man would stand to the death in the defence of ceremonies, which as the booke specified vpon iust occasions may be altered and changed; accounting it an argument that they are slenderly taught which for breach of a cerimonie will refuse such a singular benefit as to ioyn with the Church. They likewise from *Strausburgh* onely desired such vse of the communion booke, as no reasonable man shal iustly reprove; a graue moderation doubtles in them, and a iust censure against all those, as being vnreasonable men which reprove it at this day. Some of those that fledde yertuously out of their owne countrie (which was then for the most part an altar for y bodies of y dead, or a prison for

Read the discourse of the troubles begun at *Franckford*, 1555. about the book of common prayer and ceremonies.

This letter was subscribed with 17 hands whereof *Knox*, *Whittingam*, and *Fox* were three.

This letter written, Decemb. 13. 1554.

This letter was subscribed with eleuen of their hands, wherof Knox, Gilby, Whittingam, and Goodman were foure. From these; Horn, D. Cox, D. Sands and diuers others did dissent. Janu. 3. 1559. This was subscribed with eleuen hands, James Pilkinton, Iohn Mullings, Henry Carow, Edmund Isaack, &c. Reade the discourse of the troubles begun at Franckford, pag. 189. Maister Gilby. This letter was written Anno 1570. to Maister Couerdall, Maister Turner, Maister Whittingam, Maister Sampson, Maister Humphrey, Maister Leauer, Maister Crowley.

the soules of the liuing) vnaduisedly were content to make a schisme, as the Donatists from the *Romane Church*, for the keeping of Easter, and onely through the dislike of a few ceremonies, which in a letter that they wrote after Queene *Maries* death for ending of these contentions, they call trifles, and superfluous ceremonies. I cannot enough wonder how men of learning and iudgement (as most of them surely had both) could in time of banishment, in a strange citie, and amongst themselves, for the space of foure or five yeares, nourish a contention with that bitternes, for things of that nature which the most eager amongst them, did account but trifles. It had been surely a great honour to them, and a greater happines to this Church, if they had remembered themselves (though in exile) to haue been a part of it, and so haue framed their orders to the gouernment, and those ceremonies which were established by law, and vsed by them in King *Edwards* time. To this letter they of *Franckford* make a wiser and farre more reasonable answer, that it shall be to small purpose for them to contend for ceremonies, where it shall lie neither in your hands nor ours to appoint what they shall be; but in such mens wisdomes, as shall be appointed to the denising of the same, and which shall be receiued by common consent of the Parliament: and a little after, *All reformed Churches differ amongst themselves in ceremonies, and yet agree in the vnitie of doctrine, We see noe inconueniences if we vse some ceremonies diuers from them, so that we agree in the chiefe points of our religion.* If all of them at their returne home, had obserued the moderation that was in some few, such clamorous inuectiues had not been vsed against those, whose places inioyne them to see an obseruation (for the vniformitie of the Church) of those few, modest, and comely ceremonies, which the law appointed. But at their returne, one of them a man (otherwise in the opinion of some, vertuous, and learned) chargeth vs that we make these *Antichristian ragges* (for so it pleaseth him in his heate to call them) *causam sine qua non, in Christs holy ministerie; so that these make an english priest be he neuer such a doults or villane, and without these* Romish

*Romish reliks not Paul himselfe should preach.* What could any of our aduersaries haue spoken more bitterly against our cleargie? and surely in the eares of any temperate, and wise man, it must needes seeme a strange and inconsiderate speech, to flānder a whole Church with so little reason, especially that Church, whose honor and peace should haue been maintained by him. We dare in this take their owne offer, to rest vpon *melancholie iudgement* (a thing peraduenture not so fit in another case) *that when the opinion of holinesse, of merit, of necessitie* (meaning a religious necessitie) (not a necessitie of obedience) *is put into things indifferent, then they darken the light of the Gospell, and ought to be taken away.* But they are with vs, as all other things of that nature, *of comelines, of order, of obedience.* And the same which was the reason to those in authoritie to remoue others, was likewise their reason to retaine these; wherein if their wisedomes saw not so much (as others peraduenture would haue done if they had been in their places) we dare not take vpon vs to censure their doings, but where scripture is not against it, we are desirous to be obedient vnto those, that doe rule ouer vs. And where some thinke it is as lawfull (if the Prince commaund) to weare *Aarons garments*, as these, and if not *Aarons* much lesse the Popes; first we say not that these are the Popes, (howsoeuer peraduenture by them vsed before vs) neither are we bound (for any thing that I know) so precisely in all things to dissent from them. We are willing to retaine of theirs what we may, that those amongst vs which superstitiously are addicted to them, may see that it is not of malice, that we are parted, and themselues may haue lesse couller of excuse, for dissenting from vs. But for any Prince to commaund the wearing of *Aarons garments*, in that manner; and to that end that *Aaron* ware them, were to erect that priesthood which is abolished, and those ceremonies which were types and ended at the passiō of Christ in despight of his passion to call againe. Neither can there be a comparison more inconsiderately made, then betwixt these two, seeing for the one not to be vsed their reasons

*Melancht. in Rom, 14.*

*Regeß. pag. 42.*

Gal. 5.

are neither many nor of great waight, and for the other to be vsed, there is none at all. For if the lawe be taken away, whose priestly apparrell and garments were onely a figure and shadowe of Christ to come, he then which doth vse such garments of *Aaron*, doth heretically with the Iewes confesse that Christ is not yet come, and doth as much as in him lyeth renew the shadowes by him abolished, and receiuing againe his schoolemaster *Moses*, doth forsake Christ. Therefore *stand in the libertie wherewith Christ hath deliuered you, and be not wrapped againe in the yokes of bondage*; wherefore seeing these ceremonies are neither the dregges of poperie, nor cannot in reason offend the weake, nor haue any religion actually placed in them, we see no cause as yet why they may not be continued in  
 , our Church.

CHAP.



## CHAP. VII.

*Of Subscription.*

There is little hope of peace in the outward government of that Church, where the leaders of others are not willing, or thinke it not lawfull, to be *obedient*; so there is no one act, in the obseruation of al wise mā, more auailable, and in reason more likely, to procure this, then that which tyeth the tongue, and hands, from any way resisting these lawfull ordinances that preferue peace. A thing (doubtles) if it had been well wayed, by those *holy disturbers* of the Churches rest, who (notwithstanding all this) are desirous to seeme *innocent*; surely themselues would haue been formost both to haue *done* and *suffered* whatsoeuer would haue serued to haue furthered the offices of deuotion, and to haue blessed the Church with so much happinesse. Neither can they be excused in this, as men wholly ignorant, seeing all know that the best times for performing religious duties, is when the Church is at vnitie in it selfe; and the meanes to attaine this, is for *inferiours* to be subiect to those reasonable directions that others giue. Both because *submission* in them, is a part of dutie, and few that haue authoritie to commaund, if they want reason for that they doe (a thing not to be thought in men of that wisdome and in a matter of so great importance) yet seldome they want *resolution*, scuerely to



Exod. 18. 2.

In the Plea of  
the Innocent.

Iam. 3. 18.

There is pax.

1. Temporis.  
2. Pectoris.  
3. Aternitatis.  
Ber.

Pfal. 99.

exact dutifull obedience, where they doe commaund, *Mildnes which* in some other cases may be a vertue being in this a *vicer*; opposite to that courage required in those who are to rale ouer vs. So that whilest some men haue published to the world, what others haue done, and they *suffered* in this kinde; a hard censure of reproch for willfull resistance will blemish them to the worlds end, and a memorable testimonie of the others courage, shall follow amongst all posterities their blessed names, euen from the writings of such, as doe most dispraise them. The frute of their righteousness being the Churches peace, whilest the *pecuiah refusall in others*, *serued onely but to make a schisme*. And as the glorious Saints in heauen (those blessed spirits freed from the troubles of this life) enioy in Gods presence an eternall peace (who before in their flesh were comforted with the peace of the holy Ghost:) so if against outward enemies, both at home and abroad, they might haue obtained peacefull dayes and nights, this threefold cable should be hardly broken; and the Church might sing as we haue cause (and more might haue had if these men would) *that God hath done great things for vs alreadie whereof we reioyce*; for that blessing which is the happineffe of all other societies, cannot in reason but be a singular aduantage for the better performance of our religious duties in Gods seruice. This being the principall end of that great benefit of peace, that all men inioying those particular things without daunger, which God hath giuen them, haue stronger motions to giue him praise, and better meanes without disturbance to glorifie that name, which is *great wonderfull and holy*. And surely if it had not been for the ouerheadie *disobedience* of some men, wee might haue giuen this glorious testimonie of the happines of this land, *that peace was within our walles, and plentiousnes within our pallaces, and that all the daies of Queene Elizabeth the Church had rest*. A blessing doubtles so long continued, such as our fathers neuer sawe the like, and when it shall be tould to our childrens children that are to come, they will not belecue it. I haue euer in my weake opinion

opinion so farre honored the holy instruments of peace,  
that I did alwaies thinke, that their could not be a surer  
argument of an euill cause, *then in a Church reformed to resist authoritie, and to disobey those that should rule ouer vs.* Nolumus hunc regnare.

All other things obserue that law which their maker appointed for them; for *he hath giuen them a law which shall not be broken.* This must needes bee the reproofe of man Psal. 143. 6.

(saith Saint *Ambrose*) but most of all unto such, who being In Hexamer.

the children of the Church (nay which is more ministers to serue in it) are notwithstanding disobedient vnto those lawes which in great wisdom for her owne safetie, the Church hath made. As if she now might complaine as

Saint *Bernard* did out of the Prophet *Esay*; *behold for se-* Esa. 38. 16.

*licitie I had bitter grieve*; bitter before in the death of Mar- Amara prius in nece marty-

tyres, more bitter after in the conflict with heretikes; but rum; amorior post in con-

most of all now with my owne house. Vnlike in this to stitutio hereti-

that maister, whose schollers they desire to seeme, who corum; amarissimum in moribus dome-

chose rather to loose his life, then to disobey. We had ra- sticorum. Ber. in Cant. Sen.

ther all of vs *inuent, and teach, then beare and follow*; for our 23. Ne perderet o-

reason is *but an euill lackey, but our will is worse.* Seeing we bedio

want not reasons (as we think) to warrant vs in that wedo; luit p

accounting the commaundements of others to be against tam

right, and what wee will our selues that to be most holy. Mal. ratio, peior. Quod sanctus

Whereas true obedience hath nothing of his owne, but Vera ot

is wholly anothers; it is daungerous when we say despe- tian nihil de suo se- tum de a

ately, *surely we will walke after our owne imaginations, and* ler. 28. 1. Gen. 3. 1. King. 20

*doe every man after the stubbornes of his wicked heart.* This

vertue of obedience maketh good things vnlawfull as the

eating of the forbidden tree to *Adam*; and euill things

to be good and lawfull, as to smite the Prophet; the one

because he did what he was forbidden was punished with

death, and the other was deuoured of a Lyon because he

did it not. That which at another time ought to haue

been omitted and could not be done without a great sin,

now (being commaunded) without a great sinne could

not be omitted. Neither is the fault much lesse (though

the parties be diuers) so long as the authoritie that com-

maundeth is all one; nor can we (vnlesse we flatter our

selues.

*Non attendit  
verus obediens  
quale sit quod  
precipitur hoc  
solo contentus  
quia precipitur.  
Ber. in lib. de  
precep. & di-  
spens.  
In vitia alter  
alterum trudi-  
mus. Sen.  
epist. 41.  
Auctoritatem  
habemus senum  
vitia puero-  
rum. Senec.  
epist. 4.  
Qui virtutem  
quam publicare  
vult non vir-  
tuti laborat sed  
glorie. Sen.  
epist. 113.  
Nemo amplius  
in ecclesia no-  
cet quam qui  
peruerse agens  
nomen vel or-  
dinem sancti-  
tatis habet.  
Delinquentem  
namque hunc  
redarguere  
nullus presu-  
mit & in ex-  
emplis culpave-  
bementius ex-  
tenditur quan-  
do pro reue-  
rentia ordinis  
peccator hono-  
ratur. Gregor.  
in past.*

selues ouer much) thinke that we are obedient to God, whilest we are willing to disobey those whom he in his wisdom hath placed ouer vs. Neither are we so much to waie (in things not simply vnlawfull) what that is that is commaunded, as with this to be content, that it is commaunded. This if it had been duely considered by some in our Church, they had neither gloried so much that in not yeelding to order they were vnlike others, neither had they with such shoue of reason, labored to make the ignorant beleewe, that the *lawfull, wise, and religious* exacting, of *subscription*, was like vnto an *inquisition* and the tyrannous requiring of an vnlawfull thing. But in this fact wherein the wisdom of authoritie was thought too cruell, they are able to answer why they did refuse. For what men being inioyned by order doe not, doubtlesse of that (in equitie) they are bound to giue a reason: which whilest some haue laboured to performe in this kinde, the world hath seene what small and weake excuses they haue had to refuse obedience; a thing which must in the end lie heauie vpon them, that haue made resistance without cause, or else vpon them that without warrant, did exact it from them. Neither haue these refusers of subscription, been onely actors themselues in this disobedience, but the authors by their example haue thrust with violence, men of lesse learning and greater moderation, into the like contempt. This being as one noteth the principall unhappines of those men, *that they had the authoritie of the aged, and the faults of youth*. Who being in this (as they thought) to publish their vertue; were supposed not without cause, in the opinion of wise men, that they affected glorie. The Church hath found the example of these to be very dangerous, who were thought in that wherein they did amisse to be very holy. For such a one few are willing to reprove; and example doth enlarge the fault when the sinner is honored for the reuerence of his person. Doubtles there was no act since the death of Queene *Mary*, either of greater wisdom to preserue the peace of the Church in those that were first authors of it, or of more dangerous disobedience

dience in the refusers, then the act of subscription was. A practise not first inuented by vs, but arising of it selfe, euen from that naturall care, which ought to be in all of authoritie, to take securitie (as it were) for the good behauiour, of all such as are admitted to teach others. By this one act both binding their hands and tongues from any way disabling the Churches orders, and testifying to the world, the vnitie of that Church where all of one calling, haue giuen their approbation, to those lawfull ordinations, which authoritie in wisdome, moderation, and vertue haue set downe. Whereby it appeareth, as their griuance to be lesse, so their fault to be much greater then they thinke, who haue refused to subscribe, and haue labored with others to doe the like; whilest notwithstanding they haue A thousand of them. giuen their hands (and doe daily) not onely to their owne discipline (wherein the best amongst themselues agree not and the meaner haue not knowledge to examine) but also to false suggestions, intemperate petitions, vniust complaints, lawes and ordinances of their owne. For all which they haue (by many degrees) lesse warrant, then to subscribe, to that which they doe refuse. This onely being the difference, that they distaste any thing that is not new, and their hands are ruled by *example, and fancie*, in that they doe. Wherein if they had well considered in humilitie, that obedience which the Church might exact of them, as also (without preiudice) the lawfulness of those things, whereunto they were required to set their hands; doubles the vrging would not haue been thought a matter of so much rigor, nor the refusing be so much defended, as a thing lawfull. For what indifferent man can thinke it vnmeet, that when the Prince, and the Parliament haue made orders, Canons, Iniunctions, Articles, or any thing of that kinde, for the vniformitie in the Church gouernment, that a Bishop hauing authoritie to institute into spirituall liuings with cure, should require by subscription a consent vnto these things, before he be admitted in to that charge? A thing if by his owne authoritie for the peace of that dioces committed to his care the Bishop had done, surely the fault

fault had been much lesse, then in any that had refused to performe obedience. But seeing the law doth inioyne *subscription*, and that they (howsoever wronged by the clamorous complaints of some) are but ministers to see the due execution of the law, for the peace of the Church; they haue as little reason to lay the burthen of this vpon the Bishops shoulders, as a robber by the high way his apprehension, arrainment, and execution to the iustice charge. The law in them both hauing made that prouision, that they which doe what the law forbids, or doe not what the law commaunds, must be content (for their owne fault) willingly to suffer what the law inflicteth. And therefore it must needs be by so much the more strange, that men who are content to flatter the Prince, the Parliament, and those that doe make lawes, can thinke themselues warranted to refuse obedience, and reuile those honorable and reuerend persons to whom onely is committed the execution of them. Besides, places, times, and persons, orderly with iudgement and conscience concurring to make lawes, euery person in the land hauing resigned his particular intrest to those, who are assembled to that end, all after examination is debarred, to all how wise so euer, who are not admitted to that, and at that time; much more to the rest, whose weakenes of iudgement cannot without apparant suspition of intollerable pride, take vpon them the examination of those lawes, before they can easily be drawne to subscribe vnto them. The particular exceptions that are made by them (although seuerally answered by sundrie most learned and graue men heretofore) yet then we shall better examine when we come to the defence of the Communion booke. Onely we say now, that the vrging of subscription, so farre as the Bishops doe, and ought, is warranted by lawe from man, and the disobedience of those who refuse to doe it, is no way warranted by the lawes of God. So that both the tumultuous and clamorous outcries, which they haue raised, onely for this, and the slender excuses pretended for so foule a fact, are but like the coullerable rebellions; which for inlarging of  
commons,

commons, the basest of the people haue stirred vp. But least peraduenture I should doe them wrong, I am willing that the reader should heare them speake. And herein I will make choyse of him, who comming later then the rest, vndertaking from the writings of others to pleade the cause, hath labored to free them from this great fault, and to iustifie that they haue performed so much as the statute required in this kinde. It is like he rather desired to tell the world that he was an actor in the troubles of that time, then to giue reasons, for that which he and they did, or to craue with submission, pardon of the Church, for that which they did not. Aboute the yeere (saith one) 1571. subscription was inforced vpon the *Ministerie, for which cause in that time, certaine men wrote an admonition to the Parliament opening diuers things worthie of reformation,* whereupō arose great volumes of prouing, & defending, &c. But in the midst of these fiery contentions, a goodly space of quietnes about the time that the *reuerend father Maister Grindall was Archbishop of Canterburie, &c.* after the said archbishops death there came forth a new & fresh assault of subscription, vniuerally imposed, and againe inforced, vpon all the ministers in three articles; first of the Queenes maiesties soueraigne authoritie ouer all persons, &c. secondly that the booke of common prayer, and of ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containe in it nothing contrarie to the word of God, &c. thirdly to allowe and approue all the articles of religion, agreed vpon by the Archbishop and Bishops, &c. 1562, and to belecue all therein contained to be agreeable to God. The Ministers offered freely and willingly to subscribe to the first article of her Maiesties most lawfull authoritie: and for the other two they refused to doe any further then by law they were bound; and namely according to the statute made for that purpose Anno 13. Hereupon many in diuers shires were suspended from the execution of their ministry and some depriued. And in another place, *We cannot tell whether we might by the lawes and order of this realme subscribe although it were otherwise lawfull by Gods word; it concerneth the whole*

Nichols in the  
Plea of the  
Innoc pag. 8.  
lin 9.

Which they  
do not whilst  
they breake  
that statute.  
Anno 1. Eliz.  
for vniformitie  
of prayer.

Nichols Plea.  
pag 54. lin. 14.  
and pag 79.  
lin. 3.

Nichols Plea  
pag. 80. lin. 8.

Nichols. Plea  
pag. 223. lin.  
13.

Subscription  
shaked the  
heauens and  
darkned the  
skies.  
Nich pag. 226  
lin. 11.

Humble mo-  
tion pag. 43.  
lin. 24.

A Gentleman  
of the country  
to a Londoner  
touching an  
answere to  
the Archb.  
articles. Re-  
gest. pag. 178.

*state aduisedly to consider that the holy ministers of God be not oppressed with an vnjust subscription.* This the author calleth in another place *the first great storme that fell vpon them*, and in another place this he maketh to be the fruiues of subscription *that the unpreaching minister, and the non-resident are both warransed by it*; and in another place it is, (meaning subscription) *against many good and learned ministers, and some it thrusteth out.* Others before this author, both for time and worthines, haue stitly (but I doubt scarce considerately) refused obedience in this point. The some of all their reasons tending to this end, that many obscure vntruthes, were contained in those things, whereunto they required that they should subscribe; all aiming at this, that nothing was euer so greuous in the Church, to the humours and dispositions of these men, as to giue by subscription their allowance vnto that which the lawes had done. One of them to the Lords of the councill, speaking of subscription; when *D. Whitgift was made Archbishop, and set forth his vnadvised deuise, of subscription, it seemed as a strong pot of brasse that would soone haue broken in peeces all the power of poore ministers and made discipline in vster contempt*; I will only put the reader in minde, that though it were no dishonor vnto his grace, to be the author of so wise an order, for the Church; yet the same (by their owne confession) was a lawe, before her Maiestie had called him to be a Bishop; another (for it were endlesse and of little vse to alleage the reasons of *Johnson* preacher at *Northampton*, of *Grayer* and many besides published to this end) being more learned (yet in my opinion lesse religious the the rest) hath set downe some reasons, why the Bishops doe vrge subscription to her Maiesties authoritiē in causes ecclesiasticall; first for a hope of a more sure setlednes to themselues and their followers; that none may hereafter preach against the lordlynes of prelates, that none may preach against ciuill offices in a prelate; that none may speake against baptisme by women; that none may preach against an vnlearned ministerie; that none may preach against any corruption yet established whatsoeuer. A  
strange



strange collection thus to aime at the intention of making lawes. But we say no otherwise of him, then a father did in the like case. His words shoue vs wholly *what he is, and if we therefore know him not, because we haue not seene his face*, neither doth *he knowe himselfe because he doth not see his face*. But these doubtles and such like are but as Saint Hierome calles them, *the hissing of the old serpent*. For wise men would haue thought that these had had nothing to haue spokē, vnlesse they had propounded this to theselues to haue spoken euill. But seeing the tenor of them all is all one (an vnreuerent estimation and speaking of men in authoritie and lawes that are made by them) a fault surely not small nor easily forgiven, if the cause were vertuous; I must needs before I answer them, giue them this aduise, which I hope some will follow, they that do as *Gennadius* reporteth of one *Senerus* seduced to bee a pe-lagian, acknowledge their loquacitie with him and keepe silence vnto death; that they may recompence by their silence what they haue offended in speaking. Now before we answer this, which they haue alleadged against subscription; the consideration of the nature of that, doubtles must be fittest which in all reason ought to be accounted the best warrant to excuse them, both in this and the rest which they doe refuse; a reason which cannot be the same to all, and in those in whom it is found, without deceite, they are rather to be pittied and instructed, then to be vrged to that (which how lawfull so euer) (their conscience gainesaying) they doe make a sinne. For though the conscience of man allowing cannot make that to be no sinne, which the lawe doth, yet the conscience forbidding, may make that to be a sinne, which the lawe doth not. And therefore amongst men of wisdom, and vertue, there is no Plea that ought to be heard with so much attention, as when men for that which they doe, or doe not, truly and sincerely doe alleadge their conscience. Now as the colorable excuse for refusing to subscribe, must be the weakness of such mens conscience, who were perswaded in themselves, the things to be vnlawfull whereunto they

*Libri tui pendet totum tenobis exhibent. Si enim propterea te non nominamus, quia faciem corporis tui non vidimus, hoc modo nec ipse te noli, nam tu quoque non vides eam. Aust. epist. 9. Hiero. Sibila antiqui Serpentis. Hieron. Te arbitrari possunt homines nihil inuenisse quod diceret nisi tibi proponeres cui malediceret. Aust. contr. Petilian. Donatist. Agnoscens loquacitatis culpam usque ad mortem silentium tenuit, ut quod loquendo contraxerat tacendo emendaret. Gennad. Catalog.*

were required to giue allowance; so surely a double fault must lie vpon them (if there be any such) who making no conscience of those things, pretend only the greatest bond vpon earth, to be the lawfull warrant of refusing of that which they would not doe. And surely where feare and humilitie are both wanting, there it is ouer much charity to thinke that they make a conscience. All men vnderstand not aright; what that is which they alledge for themselves, when they say (*their conscience.*) There is naturally ingrafted in the heart of man, that light of *nature* which neuer can be put out, that telleth him that no euill is to be done. Now *reason* according to the knowledge that it hath (which in some is more, and in some lesse) deliuereth his iudgement of particulars, that they are euill or good; from whence the conclusion followeth, they are to be done being good, or omitted being euill. And this is

*Conscientia est applicatio notitiae nostrae ad actum particularem. Aquinas 2. Script. sent. dist. 14. art. 4. Eccles. 7. 23. 24.*

our conscience; which is nothing els, but an *application of our knowledge to a particular act.* This application is made in a threefold manner; as first to consider whether such a thing bee done or not done; and doubtles in this, our consciences can best tell the actions and intentions of those which are done by vs. Giue not thy heart (saith *Salomon*) to al the words that men speake, least thou do heare thy seruant cursing thee, for oftentimes thy heart knoweth, that thou likewise hast cursed others. The second application is when we iudge of the fact which is done, whether it be well or euill; the measure of our knowledge in this making vs to mistake, as euill for good, so that to be euill which indeede is good. The third is, that this, or that, is to be done, or to be left vndone. In the first it is a witness, which will not lie; in the second, it may accuse, but not absolutely excuse; in the last it may binde, though it want strength, in this respect onely that we are weake. For those new cords (and such are new opinions) which were not able to hold *Sampson*, may easily hold him fast, that is many degrees weaker then *Sampson* was. The first of these respecteth the time past; the second the time present; the third for the well or euill doing to the, hauing or suffering the

*Conscientia testis. Mille. Accusator. Vinculum. Iudg. 16. 9.*

*1. Testificatio. 2. Examinatio. 3. Consiliatio.*

the ioy or torment that is to come; as if he that had made time, the pretiouslest circumstance of all our actions, had set our conscience as the senere and diligent watchman of all our times. Thus seeing the vse of conscience; the next consideration is for the originall of the errors in it: these are two, a false assumption, and a false application. In the first we take those things to be good or true, which indeede directly are euill, and false; (an error per aduenture that misleadeth a number in this point;) so those that put the Apostles to death, did thinke in that action that they pleased God; for the time was come that our Sauour foretold, *Who soeuer killeth you, will thinke that hee doth God seruice*. In the second a false application, arising out of a true ground; because hee heareth that God is to be loued above all things, thinketh it vnlawfull to loue any thing except God. Both these erre not alike, but the error of conscience doth infect both. Neither ought a conscience that thus erreth to binde, seeing the force and strength of conscience, is not built vpon himselfe, but vpon some precept (*seeming so vnto it selfe*, being no good reason) but either because it is commanded, or els forbidden. Al the actions of man are of three sorts; *good, euill, and indifferent*. If our conscience say that is to be done, which is naturally good, it is no error. If it deny that to be done which is euill it is no error; for by the same reason, euill is forbidden which commaundeth good. But if on the contrary, it say that is to be done which is naturally euill, or not to be done which is good (a thing fit to be considered in this case) it is doubtles a conscience which doth erre in both. Likewise in indifferent things (as the remouing of a strawe) (and yet some wise men haue made these things refused by them, of that nature) to make them of necessitie, on either part where authoritie hath not determined, is a conscience without doubt that doth much erre. For euery will that disagreeeth from reason, either true, or false, directly sinneth; for whatsoeuer is not of faith is sinne: and yet euery thing which is done by the will, giuen assent vnto reason, is not voyde of sinne, because that ignorance

1. De præteritis.

2. De præteritis factis &amp; de futuris faciendis.

3. De faciendis tantum.

1. Dissamen.

2. Examen.

3. Ligamen.

Ioh. 16. 2.

Eadem ratione prohibentur

mala quæ præcipiuntur bona.

Rom. 14.

*Quia ignorantia  
que est ex  
culpa nocet.*  
*Ambros.*

*Esa. 5. 20.*

*Martyres  
1a philos. Auf.*

*Aquinas in  
disput. de ve-  
ritat. quest. 17.  
art. 5.*

*Alex. 2 part.  
Summa. quest.  
35. art. 2.*

which is a fault, cannot possible make the action to be without fault. The conscience as it includeth knowledge and is conioyned with the light of nature is euer right, yet as it is ioyned to reason, and about particulars it often erreth; the light of nature maketh the first proposition that it is not lawfull to doe euill; our reason (which often erreth either through ignorance or the strength of fancie) saith this is euill; whereupon the conscience being misled, maketh a firme and a strong conclusion, therefore by no meanes I ought to doe it. In the first proposition there can be no error; sometimes there is in the second (as peradventure in this act of subscription whilest we call good euill and euill good) and so a falschoode in the conclusion; which as the logicians say, euer followeth the weaker part. The errors on both hands are, when it is either too large tending to presumption, making euill good; or to strait tending to despaire; making good euill; whereas the Prophet pronounceth a woe to both. Now because euery conscience that would not erre, ought to be grounded vpon the commaundement that God giueth, doubtles it is more safe to obey a conscience that erreth not, then the commaundement of any who is but a mortall creature. But those who wilfully suffered martirdome, for opinions which they fancied, and willingly should haue disclaimed, were not commended for that they did, being but the martyres of foolish phylosophy, and no way to be praised for that they suffered. But in things which are indifferent (as many things misliked peradventure are) the precept of the superior doth binde more, then the conscience of the inferior can; for though the conscience be iudge, yet the other is more immediate vnder God; and this is but in those things, which either directly are commaunded, or els forbidden. For the subiect hath the commaundement of the superior for his warrant, and in things of this nature, his dutie is not to examine; but onely to performe what he seeth commaunded. Wherein surely the consideration ought to be greatest of those in authoritie what they doe commaund; but to determine this point (which peradventure

uenture is the case in question) according to that which the schoolemen say; we answer that the bond of an erring conscience is greater, because it is more vehement, and bindeth longer, then in things of this nature the commandement of a superior doth; but directly it is lesse on the other side, because it is fitter to bee vnloosed; for both the bond, and the conscience are to be reformed, where as the obedience to the superior in this, can admit no dispensation (things now ceasing to be what they were by nature) and this being no part of the inferiors dutie, to examine the lawfull ordinations that superiors make. Now whether these men that in refusing to subscribe, say they follow their conscience, are ruled by that which is to be reformed, or directed by that which shall be their warrant, reason and time will easily finde out, if due examination be taken both of their refusing, and of the things themselves which they doe refuse. The conscience which doth erre though it binde vntill it be reformed, ought notwithstanding to be reformed; because, either ignorance, negligence, pride, inordinate affection, faintnes, perplexitie, or selfe loue, are the corrupt and originall causes of the errors of it. So that if none of these haue ouerruled the conscience of these men, but that knowledge with due consideration hath directed them in that they did, we haue great reason to harken to their excuse, and to regarde them with more attention, whilest with reuerence and humilitie they alleage their conscience. In the meane time for remedie against these errors, let them not disdaine the counsell which wise men haue found to be most safe, if it be of ignorance to say with *Iehosaphat*, we know not what to doe but our eyes are towards thee; if of negligence to come without partiallitie or preiudice as *Nichodemus* to *Christ*, to those that for knowledge are fit to teach them. If of pride to submit our selues one to another, and especially to those that haue more learning & do rule ouer vs; for he that praiseth himselfe, is not allowed but he whom the Lord praiseth. A singularitie in this kinde hath been the originall of most heresies in all ages, and not the least occasion

1. Chro. 20. 12

Ioh. 3.

2. Cor. 10. 18.

Pro. 10. 9.

*Perit omne iudicium cum res transit in affectum. Sen.*

Hooker. lib. 5.  
pag. 15.

*Bonarum mentium est ibi culpa agnoscere ubi culpa non est. Gregor. Dum perturbatur conscientia hominis, reparatur in homine similitudo conditoris.*

occasion of the troubles of these times; for he that walketh vprightly walketh bouldly (the rest are presumptuous) but he that peruerteth his waies, shall be knowne. If from inordinate affection, making that lawfull which we haue a minde to doe, we must harken to iudgement, and refuse our affections in this case; for iudgement turned into affection, doth all perish. If from faintnes, then onely to be scrupulous & feareful when we haue cause, least we thinke it lawfull because we streane a knat, for to swallow a Cammell. If of perplexitie, when a man is closed as it were betwixt two finnes, where he is not able (though willing) to auoyde both; that which will not make either to be lawfull, will make one of them directly a lesse sinne. This is not euer to do euill, that good may come of it; for though the casting away of things profitable for the sustenance of mans life, be an vnthankfull abuse of the fruites of Gods good prouidence towards mankinde; yet this consideration did not hinder Saint *Paul* from throwing corne into the sea, when care of sauing mens liues made it necessarie to loose that which else had been better saued. For of two such euils being not both euitable, the choyse of the lesse is not euill; and euils (as a wise man noteth) must be in our construction iudged ineuitable, if there be no apparant ordinarie way to auoyde them; because where counsell and aduise beare rule, of Gods extraordinarie power without extraordinarie warrant wee cannot presume. Last of al, if of humility, (an error surely of least daunger;) we wish them onely to take heede of to much feare; else we say it is the propertie of good mindes there to acknowledge a fault, where no fault is. For whilest the conscience of man is troubled in this manner, grace repaireth in man the excellent image of his first maker. Thus giuing our simple direction, and not daring to censure the consciences of such, as thinke their refusall to be warranted with pretence of conscience; we will examine a little what they haue said, and done, and whether the exacting or refusing of subscription, was a greater sinne. If the vrging of subscription which the law required, was the cause of those seuerall

roll

rall admonitions which the Parliament had, surely a worse  
 effect could not haue proceeded from so good a cause,  
 then that which was a vertuous inuention to make peace,  
 by the vnquiet disposition of some few, should become  
 the originall fountaine of so much warre. And surely  
 that mildnes, which that reuerend Archbishop *Grindall*  
 vsed in those times, little auailed with those men for to  
 make them better; which in wisdom euer since, hath  
 caused others in that place, for to vse the lesse. For experi-  
 ence (euen in them) findeth it to be most true, *that fauour*  
*in that kinde they esteeme but desert, and the patience of*  
*others but their owne merit.* Yet wise men in the same  
 place, at diuers times, to the same persons, may vse direct  
 contrarie courses and both well. The second inforcing of  
 subscription in the three articles of supremacie, the booke  
 of common prayer, with those things annexed, and the  
 booke of articles made in the *Synode 1552.* the first they  
 allowe, but as for both the other they esteeme them vn-  
 lawfull, and such as the statute requireth not of them; *Elizab. 13.*  
 where methinkes it is strange that men which doe not so  
 much as the lawe requires, will alleadge (notwithstanding)  
 the lawe for their warrant, in that which they doe not. For  
 if either the vrging of law, by the vertue of law, or not a-  
 gainst law, could in wisdom haue serued to make peace;  
 those men had little reason to haue been against it, who  
 were not able to proue that it was vnlawfull, and knew  
 the authoritie to be lawfull that required it of them. Nei-  
 ther was there any great reason, to hope for obedience in  
 subscribing to the articles (if the lawe required it) seeing  
 they are not willing towards the communion booke to  
 afford that allowance which the law required. And how-  
 soeuer I take not vpon me to interpret the meaning of  
 that statute, yet surely the pretended exception of law, is  
 of little force, seeing both the Archbishops and Bishops  
 and al the clergie in the conuocatio, subscribed vnto them;  
 and that all Canons which the Church doth make, haue  
 either confirmation vnder the great seale, or the parties  
 that make them, haue warrant by the statute for that they  
 doe.



doe. And if it had not been, euer their practise to make a pretence of law, for that for which they haue no warrant, neither would they doe it if the law commaunded; it were better to be excused in that they refuse with pretence of law. With the same boldnes some haue affirmed that the present gouernment of the Church of *England* by Archbishops and Bishops vnder the Prince is to be accounted vnlawfull by the statutes of this land, and that to be a Lord Bishop is directly against the statute *Eliz.* 13. A practise like this some of the Church of *Rome* haue lately vsed against vs, as though our oppositiō against them, were beyond law; and the instruments made for our defence, and to cut them off, were intruth the safest protection their actions had. But haue these men that thus earnestly pretend law, either neuer subscribed to any thing of their owne without law, or euer been obedient to the lawes of others? surely if they had, the contention in this kinde, had been buried that day when it was first borne. But the English when they came to *Frankesford* were tied to subscribe to the same confession of faith, which the French had: after they themselues enioyned all to subscribe to their discipline, that they might shoue that they were ready and willing to be subiect to it. Nay *D. Cox* (a man at that time farre better I thinke then any that refuse subscription) and his companie were not admitted to haue voices in the Church of *Frankesford*, vntill they had subscribed to the discipline as others had done before them. These holy conscionable refusers to assent to the ordinations that others make, are violent exactors of subscription, and obedience, in a strange countrie, at their betters hands, to those pettie orders, which are of their owne making. When Maister *Horne* was made pastor of the Church at *Frankesford*, he receiued all such persons as members of that Church, which were contented to subscribe and to submit themselues to the orders of it. A wise course not vnfit for a greater gouernment, wherein all men ought to binde themselues some way or other, vnto the obedience of those vnder whom they liue. Nay if any minister

appeale

Martin Iunior  
Thes. 50.

Apologetically  
epistle.

Discourse of  
the troubles.  
pag. 6.

Ibid. pag. 8.

Ibid. pag. 39.

March. 1. 1556.

Ibid. pag. 61.

appeale to the magistrate, and be found to doe it without iust cause (a fault surely lesse then their refusing to subscribe) yet then he shall be directly deposed from his ministerie by them. Neither was this the practise of those times, and in that place, but euen at home those men, who had neither authoritie to make lawes, nor to exact of others allowance of them, haue required, and had, a generall subscription to that discipline, which neither scripture, wisdome, law, or themselves, could approue vnto vs. So that all those inconsiderate and vnreuerend termes which most of them haue intemperately vttered, against subscription, are but the violent courses of men, that desire to punish, and not the charitie of such as should (if they had authoritie) correct. Let them show their affection, that they loue our Church, and then we will allow them to vtter and aduise what they thinke good. In the meane time, those false coniecturall effects, for which subscription was required (as they thinke) are but vncharitable deuises of their owne, onely to make those in authoritie to be more odious; that contempt of their persons, breeding disobedience to their government, either a generall dissolution may bring a palsey into the Church, or else we must onely be ruled by orders of their making. Which because neither reason, nor experience hath taught vs to be so safe, we hold the exacting of subscription to be lawfull and necessarie, in those that doe it, and the refusal to be dangerous, vnholty, and unwarranted, in those that are disobedient. They which haue labored in their zealous defences, to make the world for to thinke otherwise, they haue taken vpon them to iustifie themselves with to much loue, and to censure our Church with to much rigor. But it is like a better consideration will possesse them now, when they shall haue small reason to feare, either partiallitie, or want of vnderstanding, to make the chiefe in authoritie either not willing, or not able, to perceiue their weightie reasons, alleaged against those things, which they doe mislike. But wise men surely haue cause to feare, that nothing wil either much, or long, please them, which is not some transformed monster of their

Ibid. pag. 132.

Danger. pos.  
pag. 28.

*Quicquid lacerato animo dixeris punientis est impietas non charitatis corrigitis: diligite & dic quicquid uoles.*  
August.

We desire  
humbly his  
Maiestie and  
the whole  
Parliament to  
consider this.

owne making. So that if any defect be in that nature (as they vrge) made by our late soueraigne of blessed memorie, whereby the refusers may pretend a warrantable excuse for not yeelding by subscription an absolute obedience both to the doctrine, gouernment, and ceremonies of the Church, we hope that now hauing tasted of the sower frutes, of their disobedience, and seeing without preuention that more dangerous inconueniences, are like to follow it will not be thought vnfit, either in his maiesties singular wisdom and great iudgement, or in the honorable consideration of the whole Parliament, if stricter lawes be now made to take securitie by subscribing, of the tongues and the hands of these men, which so often with so much libertie, and boldnes they haue wilfully imployed to the hinderance of the Churches peace; we demaund but in this, what they thinke reasonable in their owne discipline; not onely for men but for women, to the auoyding of heresies and sects, in the Church. And if he that hath most learning and hath been most earnest for the alteration of our Church gouernment be able to make demonstration, that their hands are required to giue consent to any one syllable, either in our ceremonies, our liturgy or our discipline, which truth will not warrant, and obedient humilitie exact from them, I doubt not but the Bishops of our land are, and will be readie, either to giue them satisfaction why they ought to doe it, or yeelde vnto their earnest demands, that it may not be done. But if any man thinke that the vrging of this (wherein doubtlesse a remission in some hath done more hurt then rigor) is either to confirme those things, which without the allowance of these great refusers to subscribe, might peraduenture be thought to want authoritie; or that it is meerely a politike inuention, besides law, whereby the practises of the Bishops and others, may be free from reproofe, he doth vncharitably misconster a religious ordination, for great vse, and to the wrong of himselfe, sinisterly suspect in both. So that we thinke we may (notwithstanding their great complaints of *crueltie, persecution, and tyranny*, wherewith diuers

diuers of their books haue slaundered the most pure, peace-  
able, and reformed gouernment that euer this nation had  
since it was christian, giuing occasion to the common ad-  
uersarie, to write as they haue done of the English iustice)  
safelie conclude, *that the exacting of subscription used by the  
Bishops, in the Church of England is lawfull, and necessarie,  
and the refusers, are immodest, disturbers, of the uni-  
tie, and peace, both of the Church, and  
the Common-Wealth.*

## CHAP. VIII.

*Of Discipline.*

Seeing that no societie vpon earth can long (without authoritie to correct) re-  
taine all her parts in due obedience, and  
that the disorders of none are of more  
daunger then of that societie which we  
cal the Church; it is of all ciuill con-  
siderations the greatest, to thinke of that discipline which is  
best warranted, most agreeable to the state of that king-  
dome where the Church is, and in all reason likelyest to  
obtaine that end for which discipline is allowed vnto  
Gods house. So that herein if either their skill had been so  
great, or their moderation in that busines so much (as per-  
adventure their desire was to doe good) doubles the  
Church ought in all reason, to haue giuen great attention  
to these careful aduisers, and to haue showed her selfe rea-  
die with thankfulness, to make vse of those vertuous in-  
deuours, religiously employed for her good. But now that  
they haue obruded a discipline with that violence, and  
such a one as must quiet ouerthrow, both the practise of  
other Churches, and of this in al other ages that haue been  
before vs, nor this as the inuention of wise men, nor against  
the word, but the expresse commaundemēt in euery parti-  
cular of God himself, accounting those to haue no Church  
(this being as essentiall as either the word or the sacra-  
ments) where this is wanting; wee haue great cause both  
to examine the practises of these men, and to consider that  
discipline which they tender vnto vs, for that which we  
now haue; and what benefit by this exchange is likely to  
redownd

redownd vnto Gods Church. And surely if both our Disciplines had the like warrant, *that they were the lawfull ordinations of men for the well governing of the Church, not repugnant to the word of God,* yet it is like the aduantage would be far greater on our side, being *ancient, not the inuention of our selues, found to be safe by experience, and duly proportioned with the greatnes, riches, freedome, glory and government* of this kingdome, whereas theirs, in their owne opinions (if they were not ouer partially addicted to it) is new, *the inuention of late time, dangerous by experience in a kingdome, and no way* proportioned but to the limits and bounds of some *prinate Citie;* we haue knowne the aduocates of this discipline to haue much grace (for which I do honor them) in exhortation and prayer; but to be either *inuentors,* or *aduisors* of lawes and ordinations fit for a Church discipline, their manner of liuing doth not allowe them that wisdome: so that wee holde it much safer to retaine our owne (reforming such parts as the boldnes of sinne maketh vs to thinke now to bee too remisse) rather than to aduenture an exchange, euen for that which by so many titles, they commend vnto vs. For surely no man is lesse fit to lend his tongue to giue praise to a worke, than he or they, who haue lent their heads and their hands to be authors of it, both because all of vs naturally, loue what we doe our selues, and seldome haue wee so much vnderstanding that we doe amisse, when we had no more vnderstanding but to faile in the doing of it. But where their owne weakenes or want of experience might faile, as not affording them so much wisdome to make lawes, if there they will vrge vs with expresse commaundement of holy Scripture, then it must not seeme strange vnto them, if that for which they pretend Scripture, without warrant of scripture be not admitted by vs, wherein if they faile, the Church at their hands receiueth a double wrong, first a contention to disturbe her peace, and secondly, the false pretence of an euerlasting truth, to giue authority and warrant to the *late, vnwise, inconsiderate and unholy inuentions* of silly men. Dealing in this but peraduenture with lesse malice: (as Satan and

and all heretikes haue done) to couller temptations and heresies with Gods word. For seeing that with man (especially in the Church) nothing is, or ought to be of that account as the scriptures are, all men are desirous for that which they are willing to maintaine; to alledge that prooffe which hauing greatest authoritie, must with men of reason finde least resistance. For in all other things let reason be neuer so apparant with some men, they are as easily contemned as they are alledged; this onely conteyned in the two testaments, both in admonishing is vpright, in promising is heauenly, and in threatening is fearefull. All other writings as the assurance is but weake which they can affoord, so their proofes are but the opinions or iudgements of mortall men, and where the hearer is of the same nature with him that perswadeth, reason oftentimes doth belecue, that he hath not much reason to be perswaded. But in the scriptures (as *Hugo* saith) whatsoever is taught is truth; whatsoever is commaunded is goodnes; and whatsoever is promised is happines; and therefore these men haue proceeded aright (if they be able to proue what they vndertake) in making the plaine scripture to be the commaunder of all parts of that discipline, which doubleesse without scripture, reason hath little warrant to thinke that lawfull; we understand then by discipline in this chapter (which notwithstanding few of the patrones haue defined vnto vs) *that eternal gouernment of the church, and of euery member thereof, in respect they are of the Church, whereby manners are reformed, the peace of the Church maintained, God glorified, and order and decency procured*; this whether in substance it be such that nothing is to be added, altered, or diminished, is the principall contention betwixt them and vs; our Church holding that it hath this libertie to prescribe orders for the whole assemblie; to giue direction for the goods of the Church; and the maintenance of the clergie; for the proceeding in matters of Church gouernment; making lawes and orders; iudicall notice, censures, election of offices, and such like; and this not without the authoritie of him, who hath the supreme

*Quod de scripturis sacris auctoritatem non habet eadem facilitate contemnitur quia probatur. Hier. in Matt 26.*

*Scriptura sacra in utroque testamento & monendo recta est & promittendo alia & minando terribilis. Gregor. in Ezech.*

*In sacra scriptura quicquid docetur veritas; quicquid precipitur bonitas; quicquid promittitur felicitas est.*

*Hugo.*



made in all causes; all these we hold changeable according to times and places, whereas those (who will needes be our aduerfaries in this cause) will haue all such as concerne the substance of discipline to be appointed by God, and to be alwaies firme, and immutable, and the Eldership to haue the execution of them; and to this end in euery parish or precinct, there must be a presbyterie of doctors, pastors, elders, and deacons; and of diuers presbyteries, conferences and synodes; all which (say they) are precisely required in Gods word. But seeing remonstrance hath been made both of the errors of them all, and the infinit dissentions amongst themselues, we can be content to let that discipline fall, which stronger then they (if they were willing) could hardly haue strength for to hold vp. This discipline of the Church ought to see the execution of those lawes, and ordinances, which God by his Apostles in their time, and daily since by the Church shaketh; neither doe we thinke that any in the bosome of the Church, after so long a time of knowledge, can now doubt, but that God hath left vnto his Church, an authoritie to make lawes, the execution whereof in reason is committed to those, who succeed in place and authoritie, the Apostles of Christ, that did plant the Church; whose dominion (notwithstanding) we make not so absolute, that like tyrants at their pleasure, they may rule ouer Christs flocks; yet the power that the rulers of the Church haue, in matters of a lower nature, are lesse limited by faire (hauing warrant to ordaine and appoint things indifferent) which serue for order, comelines, and the edification of Christs Church. By this authoritie the Apostles ordained many things in the Church, whereof from Christ they had no expresse mention; by this power S. Paul ordained that gatherings should be made at Corinth, vpon the Lords day; that the man should pray bare headed, and the woman couered. Such authoritie at this day a particular Church hath (as of England France and Scotland, or any other) that the clergie with the allowance of the prince and the rest, whom it may concerne for to make lawes, may ordaine, and appoint, such ordinances, as seruing for edification,

D. Sutcliffe.

1. Pet. 5.

Zanch. in decal. pag. 671.

Omnia decern.

1. Cor. 14.

order, and comelines in the Church, are so long in force, until they shall be abrogated by that authoritie that did first make them. To this we referre, the time, and manner, of publike prayer, administering the Sacraments, ecclesiasticall censures, apparell for diuine seruice, ornaments of Churches, and such like; all which as the Church fro Christ hath lawfull authoritie to ordaine, so it is a pecuisti disobedience in those men, who had rather without warrant, impose vpon the Church lawes of their own making, then by commaundement obey the lawful ordinations that others make. Now because in no societie, al men will be obedient at all times, and that it is little auailable to make lawes, and no way to see to the execution of them; as the Church hath left vnto her admonitions to warne the, & correctiōs to restraine; so last of al she hath power to suspend, fro partaking of the best things, that the church hath, because they haue refused to obey, the voyce of the Church, in those lesser ordinations that she made; the seueritie of the Church tending to this end, the amendment of such who she doth correct; and the terrifying of others from the like offence; wherein if our Church, administret this discipline with two much lenitie (a fault surely if at all in inferior officers) we had rather aduenture the manifest inconuenience of that euill, then hazard by a new course, the certaine molestation of a fault greater. Now because all men will seeme to haue reason for that they doe, and no reasons are equall to those which the scripture yeeld; soine wise men amongst them haue vnderake to make proofes from hence, absolutely in their opinions sufficient; to establish this new discipline. The consideration of which weaknes, as also the great injurye who Gods word must needs make, that their discipline doth want proofes, which themselves are rather desirous the able to alledge for it. It must needs seeme strange, that because *Moses* and *Aaron* when they came into *Egypt*, did at Gods commaundement call together the elders of the children of *Israel* that the very mention of their names, should be alledged as a warrant for the elders of the church in this new discipline. But one of *Genena* writing vpon that place saith, such were vnderstoode as by doctrine, and ex-

Exod. 4. 29.  
Cartwright.

Nicholas Gal-  
lasmus.

ample

ample did rule, the people; whereas their elders are laymen and by no meanes are admitted to teach others. Others, peradventure more truly, men of that time, and not much differing from that humor, say that neither preachers, nor lay elders are vnderstood by it, but only such ciuill gouernors as were Senators & princes to beare rule. And doubtles whatsoever they wrest out of the old testament to make *Moses* the author of it, yet *Caluin* to whose judgement the chiefest amongst them hath promised to stand in this case, saith that the pretended eldership till after the time of the captiuitie was neuer thought of, and the reason (as *M. Caluin* saith why they thought of it then) was because it was not lawfull for them, to haue a King; as if the gouernment by a King, which in former times they had, might haue bin graunted to the, this institution of their *Sauedrim* of elders, had been of no vse. So that all those scriptures out of the old testament by them alledged to this end (as they haue alledged many) are to small purpose; or if they were, that gouernment were needles, in a realme where there were a King. And that *Sauedrim* or counsell of the Iewes erected after their returne from *Babylon* being seuentie elders were of the stocke of *Dauid*, and of their former Kings; but to bring these into the Church by the mistaken example of those times, cannot but be dangerous; and the foundation being so weake, this building of theirs cannot long continue. Doubtles it is not safe in wresting of scriptures to follow the streame of their owne fancies, seeing he that held that all who would be saved must goe to *Ierusalem*, forced all places out of the scripture that gaue any testimonie to confirme *Ierusalem* either litterall or otherwise, as apparant demonstration to maintaine his error. As these men haue delt in the old testament, so in the new, what *M. Caluin* doth expound of pastors, and preachers only, some others do wrest for the establishing of these lay elders, in their Church discipline. I am sorie that men of learning that would seeme vertuous & holy, should be charged so truly with so manifold wresting of the scriptures, as in this whole matter of discipline they are by sundrie that doe write against them. Let men loue and aduance their owne fancies as they thinke safe, but let the scripture

*Pellican. & Simlerus in exod. 4.*  
*Cornel. Bertram de politeia Iudae. dedicated to Maister Berz.*  
*T. C. lib. 1. pag. 33.*

*Caluin in Math. 18.*

*Exod. 4. 29. and 17. 5.*  
*Deut. 1. 15. and 17. 12.*  
*1. Chron. 19. 8.*  
*Ierem. 19. 1.*  
*Ezech. 8. 1.*

*Ket burnt at Norwich.*

*By D. Sutcliffe and the suruay of discipline.*

not pag. 414.

*Aust. in trull.  
in Job.*

*Hiero. ad Tit. 22*

*Aust. contra  
faust. lib. 3.  
cap. 19.*

not be wiled to giue strength vnto them. For doubtles here-  
sies and erroneous opinions do so otherwise spring vp, then  
when the good scriptures are not well vnderstood, and be-  
cause that which is not well vnderstood, is notwithstanding  
boldly affirmed to be the meaning of them. For few  
things hitherto haue been so fondly deuised, but the authors  
did pretend they had scripture for it: or else saith *S. Hieron.*  
the garrulity of such persons, would hardly haue got credit;  
for when through vanitie & pride men haue ingaged them-  
selves by the broaching of new opinions, they will rather la-  
bour to bring the scripture to yeeld vnto their fancies, then  
suffer their fancies to be ouerruled by them; a fault as it is  
great in it selfe, so it carieth a manifold disadvantage with it,  
that the aduersaries of the truth, want not a sculler to re-  
fuse the interpretations of such at another time, whom men  
of the same profession, for saith, and the sacraments, haue  
worthely charged to haue wronged the scriptures: It had  
been doubtles a greater honour to them, much better dea-  
ling with the word of God, and a course of more reason in  
the opinion of wisemen; that this discipline had been com-  
mended to vs, as a politicke gouernment which they found  
safe; as the best deuise which necessitie in *Genoa*, betwixt  
the putting out of their Romish Bishop, & the keeping out  
of the Duke of *Savoy* did inforce vpon them; as a platforme  
sutable enough for such a citie, at such a time. But to offer it  
to the greatest king domes that embrace the truth, who hap-  
pily flourish vnder the prosperous gouernment of vertuous  
princes; where all things are established in the Church with  
a most ancient, Apostolike, & holy order, and al this vnder the  
name of Gods word; It is to poyson the world with much  
chill, and to couer the pollution of their first teachers, with the  
vnmallowed contentions of all after times. And yet for all  
that we can neither mislike the gouernment of our Church,  
which already we haue by Bishops, nor accept theirs by El-  
ders, vntill they haue answered all such as soundly and with  
iudgement doe write against them. Add surely I may make  
the same protestation which a wise man doth in this case,  
that if I were to leaue this life, and should speake what I  
thought of the present forme of Ecclesiasticall gouernment

at this time in the Church of *England*, I would take it vpon my soule (so faire as my iudgement serueth) that it is much more *Apostolicall*, then the gouernment of any Church, that I roade of; and if it were not for *Prohibitions* (such peraduenture as good intentions found out) (and some few hinderances of the Common-law) a gouernment without exception more holy and of greater peace. For whilst euery man will aduenture to offer vnto the Church, fancies of his owne making, as H.N. and many others, saying loe here is Christ, and loe there is Christ, we shall stand neede to be put in minde of that caueat, goe not after them. And whereas the two forciblest reasons to giue any thing allowance in the opinion of men, is that it is warranted for the institution, and profitable for the vse: these politike maisters of the new discipline, hauing proued neither, yet doe offer both. To thinke that if we had this gouernment (which doubtles God in his mercie hath thus long kept from vs) that then God would blesse our victuals, and satissie our poore with bread, that he would cloth our priests with health, and his Saints should shout for ioy; that it is best and surest for our stare; that it would cut of contentions, and suites of law; that it would nourish learning; that then there would be ynitie in the Church, that it would bring strength and victorie, and many other benefits like these; which if experience of these that haue tried them, could as well assure, as these mens words, doubtles the Church had great reason to thinke of it; and yet these are benefits no greater, then already by Gods mercie; our Church hath inioyed without this. But they imitate saith a learned and graue man of their countrie *these seditions Tribunes of Rome who by virtue of the Agrarian law bestowed the publike goods only to this end, to enrich themselves*; that the Bishops being ouerthrowne, they might succede into their places. And a little after, it ought especially to be provided, *that there be not any high anchoritie giuen vnto this presbyterie, whereof many things might be said, but time will reucale what yet doubt lie hid.* Wherefore saith *Qualter* writing to the Bishop of London at that time, and touching some abuses (as they are infinit of this new discipline) *we are carefully to be vigilant, lest new heads doe bud out of the wounds of the remiss Hydra scarce yet subdued.* The same author in a let-

Suryay. p. 80.

Humb. moti-  
on. pag. 31.

Pag. 27.

Pag. 74.

Pag. 64.

Pag. 37.

Pag. 79.

Bullinger in  
a letter to a  
Bishop of En-  
gland. 1574.  
March. 10.

Anno. 1574.

Hart, a preacher  
at Emden  
to M Feeld.

By the right  
reuerend the  
L. Archbishop  
of Canturbu-  
rie.

ter to Bishop *Saunders*, after many troubles procured by this new discipline, *I hope (saith he) the frame of it will in short time fall of it selfe, considering that many, who before had it in admiration, are now of themselves become wearie of it.* Another saith, that by the meanes of this discipline, the magistrates *hane invaded the Church goods, the ministers hane little allowance, there is no respect of the studie of diuinitie.* And another complaining of the disorderly frutes of this discipline saith; *If you did see the confused state of the Churches of these countries, you would say that England (and marke it for it is true) how bad soeuer, were a paradise in comparison, so he thought;* but if these men could haue bin content, only to haue prayed their owne; without opposition, defacing, and slaun-dering the gouernment of our Church, we would haue been willing to haue furthered their inioying of so much happines in their owne reimes, if the peace and prosperitie of our owne, had not been enuiued by them; whereas now we must tell them, and when we haue done, the Church shall haue some to performe this dutie to the worlds end, *that a discipline erected by fauour, & policie, consisting upon parts vsound, disagreeing, dangerous in themselves, chargeable to parishes, & without profit, derogatorie to Princes, banishing Apostolicall Bishops appointed by Christ, in one word a discipline new, full of crueltie, ambition, and pride, cannot be safely admitted into that Church, which is seated in a kingdome, where a Prince hath authoritie, both ouer the Church, and the commonwealth.* There is no part of it vnanswered that I know, & our purpose in this, is but only to let them see, that a church being happely planted, and gouerned (as ours is) they that are strangers, are charitably to thinke of vs, & those amongst our selues, ought all to be furtherances of our common peace. That siane out of our dissensions may not grow strong, and whilest vnthankfully with *Israel* we reiect *Samuel*, we haue not either a gouernment that is tyrannous, or no Church at all. *For that prouidence which poureth downe mercies vponest me are shaukefull, raineth downe iudgements, for the peoples finnes.* Let vs the hereafter in sted of filling the world with our clamorous outcries for a new Church gouernment, approach the throne of his mercie with praiers for our finnes, that they may be pardoned.





## CHAP. IX.

*Of Archbishops and Bishops.*

**I**n the generall dislike which diuers not well aduised haue had toward the ecclesiasticall state in this kingdome, things of principall and chiefe vse might haue escaped the vnreasonable and intemperate reprehension of some mouthes, neither should a thing of so great necessitie, nor a condition and estate both by example and reason so much warranted, stand in neede of any defence at this time. But seeing amongst those ambitious humors (which vnder pretence of an equalitie more then is fit, aspire vnto a tyrannous authoritie more then is safe) there is nothing lesse willingly indured, then the title and authoritie of Bishops, which by establishing an order doth frame all parts of the Church to a due obedience and by making feuerall dignities (which for order are different) do impose a vertuous and humble obedience euen amongst them, whose ministerie and ordination is all one; we cannot but thinke it a thing vnreasonable in those which demaund it at our hands, and great folly in vs if we yeeld vnto it, that an office of that vse, of that lawfulness and continuance, should be remoued as tyrannous and antichristian in Gods Church, onely because it pleaseth the wisdom and violence of some men, so to haue it. Now as to thinke that the state of the Church, might either continue better, or continue at all without these, is but the strong fancies of some, which ouerloue themselves; so to maintaine after so long practise of the most auncient Churches,



Churches, that Archbishops and Bishops, both for name, title, and authoritie are lawfull, and to the well gouerning of the Church necessarie, is but to confesse that order, must as wel be a safegard to the church, as the common-wealth; and that *subordination* of men in authoritie, can be well wanting in neither; but if in either, surely in that societie farre lesse, where disorders in manners are not much fewer (considering the number of persons) and the errors in opinion are more visuall, and more dangerous; and none of these possible with any conuenience to bee remedied but by this meanes. In regard whereof being neither safe to trust all without rule, nor all with authoritie to rule, *Apostolicall ordination, reason, the custome* of all Churches auncient, and well gouerned, and lastly *nature* it selfe, doth ordaine Archbishops in their prouinces, as Bishops also in their dioces, and both in their places, and vnder the Prince, for to rule the Church. And herein, we may boldly say without offence, that the causes of displeasure conceiued against Bishops (how vehemently soeuer they are followed) are surely lesse reasonable, then against any one thing which they doe mislike; seeing the vse of all other things may either be touched in show, with some coullerable pretence of fault, or the not yfing warranted with some likely excuse, whereas in this, the grieuances (if there be any) that are iust, are in the persons not in the office, and the removing them away, must leaue a passage to a disorderly confusion, and possesse the Church with that farall disease of all societies, want of order, wherebv for the present she must needes doe many things confusedly, and doubtles in short time miserably perish. So that to make ambition, and couetousnes, the originall of this honor; and tyrannie ouer their brethren, to giue continuance vnto it; is to make the best things in the outward pollicies of the Church, to proceede from the worst authors, and to lay too great an imputation to their charge, whom in all reason, by the benefit of this gouernment we ought to acknowledge, as our spirituall fathers, for deriuing the Gospell vnto vs, and by a continuall succession euen from the

Apostles

Apostles hands. The best warrants that we haue for the execution of our spirituall functions; to vs the greatest calling vpon earth, and to the world the hallowed and blessed instruments of all happines, which being imployed to that end, it must needs be an intollerable presumption in any to vndertake the same, but by authoritie and power giuen them in lawfull manner; for the same God which is no way deficient vnto man in things necessarie, and hath giuen vs to that end the light of his heauenly truth, without which we must needs haue wandred in continuall darknes, hath in the like abundance of mercies, ordained certaine to attend vpon the due execution of requisite parts, and offices therein prescribed for the good of the whole world: which men thereunto assigned doe hold their authoritie from him, whether they be such as himselfe immediately, or as the Church in his name, inuesteth: It being neither possible for all, nor for euery man without distinction conuenient, to take vpon him a charge of so great importance. The power of this ministerie translateth out of darknes into glorie; it raiseth men from the earth, and bringeth God himselfe downe from heauen; by blessing visible elements it maketh them inuisible grace. *It giueth daily the holy Ghost.* It hath to dispose of that flesh which was giuen for the life of the world; and that blood which was powred out to redeeme foules. When it powreth out malediction vpon the heads of the wicked they perish; whe it reuoketh the same they reuiue. O wretched blindnes saith one if we admire not so great power, more wretched if we consider it aright, and notwithstanding imagine that any but God can bestowe it. It is a power which alone ought to make the authors of it to man vnder God deare vnto vs; which neither Prince nor Potentate King nor Caesar on earth can giue. Yet neither is it being duly waied, in the Bishops successors to the Apostles which bestow this, nor in those who are desirous to enter into that calling; any ambitio (as some men surmise) seeing such reputation it hath in the eye of this present world; that both neede rather incouragement to beare contempt, then deserue blame as men desirous to

Hook lib. 5.

pag. 228.

aspire higher. Now because men dying there must be a continuall supply into this calling, and that those who had first the authoritie to ordaine (I meane the Apostles) were mortall; their care doubtles must extend it selfe thus far, though they could not indew men with the same measure of grace which themselves had, yet they should (and so doubtles did) impart the same power to ordaine which was giuen to them; that neither men might rush into it without admission, nor the power of admission be granted to all, nor the Church bee left destitute of so great a blessing. And because in the executio of holy things, where the persons put in trust are but men, discord & disorder vsually doe breake in; the wisdom of God thought it necessarie, that amongst them who for their ministerie were equal, an inequality for order, and superioritie to command should be granted; that by this meanes order and vnion should both be preserved in Christs Church. They that most dissent in the kinde of government, doubtles will confesse with *Nazianzen*, that order is the mother and preseruer of all things. Which if it concerne all persons, and ages in the Church of Christ (as surely it doth) the government must not cease with the Apostles; but so much of that authoritie must remaine to them, who fro time to time, are to supply that charge, & doubtles to that end haue succeeded in the apostles tooimes. For we easily see that equality doth breed factions, and therefore wise men to suppress the seedes of dissensions haue made one aboue the rest. And the best deuisers of the new presbyterie do hold it necessarie, that one chiefe in place and dignitie, moderate, & rule euery action, with that right which is allowed him by Gods law. For surely a multitude vn-gouerned, must needes be easily confused, and there cannot well be obedience, where all are equal; where shepheards leade sundrie waies, it is hard for the sheepe to know whom to follow; and if no man can serue two maisters, which haue equall authoritie ouer him, and perhaps command contrarie things (for whilst they agree, though diuers, they are but one) then surely the Church ought not to be put to this hazard, by multitudes equally

Order is the  
mother and  
preseruer of  
all things.

*Greg. Nazian.*  
*de moderatione*  
*in disput. ser-*  
*mona.*

*Hieron. ad*  
*Eugrium.*

*Bernard in Respo.*  
*ad Tractat. de*  
*misist. euangel.*  
*grad. fol. 153.*

equally ruling in one place, seeing to dissent is vsuall in all places, and if not, yet in all persons it is casuall; whereas the wisdom of the Church in them that gouerne, must as well looke vnto that which may happen, as vnto that which already is. Now if this were the principal meanes to preuent schismes and dissensions in the primitiue Church, whē the graces of God were far more abundant & eminent then now they are; nay if the twelue were not lik to agree except there had bin one chiefe amongst thē; for (saith S. Hierom) amongst the twelue one was therefore chosen, that a chiefe being appointed occasion of dissention might be preuented; and if euery presbyter by Gods ordinance must haue a ruler (as themselues confesse) how can they thinke that equalitie would keepe all the pastors of the world in peace and vnitie? or that the Bishops of a whole prouince or kingdom, could meete, conserre, & conclude, as often as neede requireth, vnlesse their assemblies were moderated, and ruled by some one? For in all societies, authoritie (which cannot be where all are equal) must procure vnitie, and obedience, if vertue will not. Now seeing that all men may easily erre, & that no errors are so dangerous as those which concerne religion, the Church should be in a far worse case then the meanest common-wealth (nay almost then a den of thieues) if it were left destitute of meanes, either to conuince heresies, or to suppress them; yea though there were neither helpe, nor assistance, of the christian magistrate; without which it were not possible for truth & equitie any long time to harbour amongst the sons of men. The remedie which in these cases the primitiue Church had, & when occasion was offered vsed against heresie and iniurie, she deriued as well from the promise made by Christs owne words, as from the Apostles example in the like case. Christ willing them that were grieved by their brethren, after the first and second admonition to tell it to the Church. And addeth for direction and confirmation of all religious assemblies and conferences; *where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whatsoeuer you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heauen,* *Marth. 18.*

*and whatsoeuer ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heauen.*  
 Now whatsoeuer is meant here by the name of Church, in the reasonable exposition of any, to me it is all one, to prooue this order; that from priuate admonition they went to witnesses, and from them to assemblies; and seeing there must be an end of controuersies amongst men (vnesse we will plucke vp by the rootes all *charitie and right*) when neither priuate perswasion, nor frendly mediation can appease parties that violently contend; what other order could be prescribed, but a iudiciall hearing and determining of things in question? Now because Christ did not set the sword to be the generall, and perpetuall rule to gouerne his Church (for then without a Prince there could be no Church, & so consequently there was none either in the Apostles time or three hundred yeres after) (though, where they belecue, the defence and maintenance of the Church is committed to their charge) it must of necessitie follow that either there is no iudge (which were the vtter subuersion of all peace) when the christian magistrate is wanting; or els the pastors and stewards of Christs Church to whom this care is committed, must assemble together, and with mutuall conference performe those duties to the Church in generall, which otherwise they are bound to do to each particular place and person. By Gods law what obedience and reuerence the father may expect from his owne childe, the same or greater, must all belecuers yeeld to the fathers of their faith; the one begetteth vs to this life, the other to a life that is much better. Those then whom Christ hath placed to be watchmen and leaders, the light and salt of his Church, must not onely warne and guide, but also lighten and season in their measure that whole body; for when all other failes, this onely is left to cleanse the house of God from vessels of dishonour, yea when there were no belecuing Magistrates to assist the Church, this onely was left, as the best meanes; and after when christian Princes began to protect the truth, they neuer had nor can haue safer direction amongst men, then by the Synods of wise and godly Bishops. Thus a Synod

at *Antioch* about threescore yeeres before the councell of *Nice*; condemned and deposed *Paulus Samosatenus*, for heresie; and when he would not yet yeeld to the Church, but keepe it by violence, vpon complaint to *Aurelianus* Euseb. lib. 7. 30 the Emperour (though he were a heathen) *Samosatenus* was with extreame shame *driven from the Church by the worldly Prince*. All countries in all ages, haue had the benefit of cap. 3. this, not as a thing arbitrarie and left free to those that peraduenture were careles of the Churches welfare, but prescribed by fundrie councels; as *Nice*, *Antioch*, *Constantinople*, *Chalcedon*; and commaunded by the imperiall cap. 20. cap. 2. lawes, in this manner; That all the Ecclesiasticall state, and cap. 19. Nouel. const. 123. cap. 10. sacred rules, may with more diligence be obserued, we require (saith the Emperour) every Archbishop, Patriarch, and Metropolitan to call vnto him once or twise every yeere, the Bishops that are vnder him in the same prouince, and thoroughly to examine all the causes, which Bishops, Clarkes, or Monkes, haue amongst themselves; and to determine them so as whatsoever is trespassed by any person against the Canons, may be reformed. So that wee must either cleane reiect Synods (a thing doubtles of no small daunger as the times may fall out) and make the presbyters in euery parish supreme iudges, or else admit some (which be no other but the Bishops) both to call and to moderate these meetings; for in all those Synods which continued in the Church (euen when she was most sharply pursued by the sworde from the death of the Apostles to the raigne of *Constantine*) they were assembled and gouerned by the Bishops of the chiefe, and mother Churches, and Cities, in euery prouince; who by the auncient councels were called *Metropolitans*. And after when Princes came to imbrace the faith, the best meanes they could deuise to procure peace, and aduance religion, was by their lawes to referre Ecclesiasticall causes to Ecclesiasticall Iudges. And least they should be long in strife, they charged the *Metropolitans* to assemble the Bishops of his prouince twise every yeere, & there to examine, and order, what matters of doubt should arise, which happely might disturbe the Churches peace.



Anno do. 355.

Euseb. lib. 6. 43

Euseb. lib. 4. cap.

88.

Thus the Synode of *Rome*, called by *Cornelius* against *Nomatus*, consisted of threescore Bishops, and many others of the clergie. In the counceils of *Rome*, vnder *Hilarinus* and *Gregorius*, where foure and thirtie presbyters subscribed after two and twentie Bishops; infinit are the examples in this kind, which teach vs that neither the Church, at any time was, or in deede can, safely be without tempests, if Synods want; nor Synods can be rightly ordered, if the Metropolitans and Bishops should be wanting in them. Seeing then they haue this vse (if this were all to make that societie able with order to suppressie heresies and redresse wrongs) (without which doubtles the Church of all assemblies were worst gouerned) it ought not to seeme vnreasonable to any, that a thing so necessarie, and auncient, should with honour, and reuerence, be retained amongst vs. But least the name of Bishops, should be offensiuē to any (as some haue thought it onely the ambitious title of a tyrannous gouernment) these that would seeme moderate aduersers to equalitie and humilitie, in this case, must giue vs leaue to tell them, *that the name is auncient, the office needfull*, and both so warrantable, that they must needs be thought (at the least) malicious enuiers of the peace and prosperitie of Gods Church, who are desirous or can be content, that order obserued in the Apostles time, and those Churches which were purest, and next vnto them, should be banished as Antichristian from amongst vs, only because it is the pleasure of those men, to admit no superiors. For if the name of Archbishop be not to be found in scripture, considering the thing it selfe is of necessarie vse in Gods Church, they haue as little reason to except against it as if *Homonson* were not warrantable, because *Arius* gaue occasion, that the *Nicen* counsell did first inuent it. Many names are inuented since the Apostles time, and yet both lawfully, and necessarily vsed; for these men haue been told long since, *that the authoritie and the thing whereof the Archbishop bath his name, was in Saint Pauls time, and therefore the name lawfull*; and if it were not, yet both might bee lawfull, seeing they appertainē

The defence  
of the answer  
to the Admo-  
nit. pag. 310.



pertaine to the externall pollicie, and regiment of the Church; which according to time, place, persons, and other circumstances, is not tyed of necessitie, to be alwaies one. And surely those that mislike this ouer proude title (as they tearme it) haue least cause: seeing they of the Discipline challenge as great iurisdiction ouer their Parishes, and as lofty dominion ouer Prince and Nobles, as euer any Pope did ouer the whole Church. And if *Clement* (whom *Polydore* alledgeth to that end) said that *Peter* in euery Prouince appoynted one Archbishop, whom all other Bishops of the same Prouince should obey, I see no reason why any man for that, should so farre forget both modestie and charitie (as some haue done) to call him a *hell bound, a naturall sonne of Satan* (surely naturall he was not) and the *sworne souldier of Antichrist*. I wish these to remember, that the slaunder of authors, is no good answer, when better reasons can be alledged then onely to say, *that they say it*. But if they thinke the title vnlawfull (as some of them write) because the Scripture doth appropriate it to our Sauour Christ, I wish them to remember, that if *Archshepherd* and *Archbishop* be all one, then the name is to bee found in Scriptures: and that names proper vnto God, as *Shepherd*, light of the world, and such like; may be in a diuers sence, and are often communicated with other men. Hereunto we may adde, that the famous Councell of *Nice*, (which by all men of wisdom is reuerenced, esteemed, and imbraced as the soundest and best testimony next the Scriptures) doth not onely allowe of the name, but also of the office of Metropolitane and Archbishop; determining him to be no Bishop, which is made without the consent of the Metropolitane; and to shew that this name and office was more auncient, than that famous Councell, the Canon saith, *Let that olde custome be obserued*, alluding peraduenture to those Canons which passe vnder the Apostles names. Neither was this name or title so strange immediatly after the Apostles time, that *Volusianus* was asseard to say, that *Dionysius Areopagita* was by *S. Paul*, made Archbishop of *Athens*, or *Erasmus* to call

*Polydor. lib. 4.  
de Inuent. c. 12.*

*T. C. pag. 66.  
Sect. 4.*

*Archshep-  
heard. 1. Pet. 5.*

*Anno. 330.*

*Can. 6.*

*Can. 33.*

*Volusianus  
wrote, Anno.  
865.*

*Theod. in arg.  
in epist. ad Tit.  
Euseb. lib. 5.  
cap. 23.*

*Lib. 1. Epist. 3.  
ad Cornelium.*

*Ignat. in Epist.  
ad Smirneses.*

*Lib. 4. epist. 3.*

call *Titus* Archbishop of *Crete*, and *Eusebius* giueth the authoritie to *Iohn* the Euangelist; whose suruiuing the rest, brought this benefit vnto the Church, that for consecrating of Bishops and other vses, he was as Archbishop, or Metropolitane to the whole Church. For in Saint *Cyprians* iudgement, heresies and schismes haue risen from no other occasion then from this, that the Priest of God is not obeyed, neither one Priest for the time in the Church; and one Iudge for the time instead of Christ thought vpon, so whom, if the whole brotherhoode would be obedient, according to Gods teaching, no man would moue any thing against the Colledge of Priests. This speech of that auncient Farher, was to comfort *Cornelius*, shewing, that faintnes in that case was to betray the Church, and that sects and schismes, must needes arise, where the authoritie of Bishops is despised. For this place was not to confirme the authoritie of the Church of *Rome*, but as the best expounde him, that hee would haue an Archbishop in euery Prouince to beare rule ouer the rest of the Cleargy. For hee that attempteth any thing in the Church, without the Bishop, breaketh peace and confoundeth good order; and *Cyprian* being Bishop of *Carthage*, had the charge and ouersight of all the Churches in *Africke*, in *Numidia*, and in both the *Mauritanes*; and not only these, but (as *Gregorie Nazianzene* saith) the whole East parts; for the which cause *Illicius* doth call him Metropolitane. So that if herein wise men, had onely inuented what was fit, and not followed what was before them, their action had not been without warrant, seeing in the outward pollicie of gouerning the Church, where precepts and examples are wanting, it is not forbidden for those that come after, as well to be examples to others, as to follow the examples of such as haue gone before them. But if in the first planters of the Church (which both in comparison of the rest were fewe, and blessed with graces farre more excellent than any in our time) inequalitye was allowed, and that allowance without fault, it must needes in all reason follow, that the authoritie of Archbishop was not thought so dangerous as now, to the gouerning of Christ

Christ's Church; wherein if either their maintenance bee greater, or their outward honor more in these Christian times of peace, then could be expected amongst Pagans (and they tyrants) no man can in reason, or ought with out blame, to oppugne these, who will not be thought an enemy to the former; seeing the times and names being diuers, the authoritie notwithstanding is all one. But it is the vnnaturall fault of this age, through the fides of those whom peraduenture in some priuate respects we mislike, to wound euen our fathers in religion, whom we ought to honor. But seeing these men doubtles are much wiser, who take vpon them to be the reformers of our Church, then that they should be offended with the names, where the things are lawfull; it is surely to be thought in all reason, that the superioritie of Bishops, is not by them accounted so great a fault, as that any amongst the clergie, whose office and ministerie is all one, should by a speciall name aboue the rest of their brethren, be called Bishops. As if to ouer see that flocke committed to their charge, were a dutie belonging, and by our Sauour imposed vpon them onely. But because the names of things haue so many artificers, by whom they were first made; but moe who after haue vsed them to an other sence; it shall not so much concerne vs, to inquire what in the beginning was the difference betwixt Bishop and presbyter, as to learne afterward what the Church ment when these names expessed those persons which for office and ministerie of word and sacraments, not for order and iurisdiction, were all one. The clergie of the Gospell, were at the first after the Apostles time, either *Presbyters* or *Deacons*: for those who aduisedly at the first did impose names vnto things, had either regarde vnto that which naturally was most proper, or if peraduenture to some other specialitie, to that which is sensible most eminent in the thing signified: and therefore what better title, could be given to all that were employed in this worke, then the reuerend name of *presbyters* or *fatherly guides*? For a *presbyter* according

Hook, lib. 5.  
236.

Reuel. 4. 4.

Reuel. 21. 14.

Math. 19. 28.

Aust. de her.

cap. 53.

Epiph. her. 75.

Hiero. ad

quart.

Tot essent sci-  
smata quot sa-  
cerdotes. Hiero.  
contra Iulife-  
ria.

ding to the proper meaning of the new testament, *so be vnto whom our sauour Christ, hath communicated the power of spirituall procreation.* Out of the twelue patriarchs issued the whole multitude of Israell, according to the flesh; and according to the minilterie of heavenly birth, our Lords Apostles we all acknowledge to be the patriarches of his whole Church. *S. Iohn* therefore beheld sitting about the throne of God in heauen, foure and twentie *presbyters*; the one halfe fathers of the old, the other of the new *Ierusalem*, in which respect the Apostles likewise gaue themselues the same title, albeit that name were not proper, but common vnto them with others. For of *presbiters* some were greater, some lesse in power; and that by our Sauours owne appointment; the greater they which receiued fulnes of spirituall power, the lesse they to whom lesse was graunted. The Apostles peculiar charge was to publish the Gospell of Christ vnto all nations, and to deliuer his ordinances receiued by immediat *revelation from himselfe*; (which preeminence excepted) to all other offices and duties, incident vnto their order, it was in them to ordaine and consecrate, whomsoever they thought meete; euen as our Sauour did himselfe assigne scuentie disciples of his owne, inferior *presbyters*, whose commission notwithstanding, to preach and baptise, was the same which the Apostles had. But when time, and obseruation, had made a difference in the Church of these two, euery Bishop being a *presbyter*, but not euery *presbyter* a Bishop, the Church condemned it as the heresie of Acrius, to hold that a *presbyter* and a Bishop were all one. The Bishops (as *Epiphanius* reasoneth) begot fathers in the Church, but the *presbyters* onely begot Sonnes. For the priests did chose (saith *Saint Hierom*) one amongst themselves, *whom they placing in a higher degree, called a Bishop.* For vniclesse (saith the same father) the chiefe authoritie were giuen to one, there would be as many schismes as priests. So that their collection out of *Saint Ambrose*, and *Hierom*, is so much the more strange, who thinke that bishops, and presbyters

ers did not differ, in the Apostles time. It must at least be an imitation of their pride, who in former time haue troubled the Church with the like errors. *Cornelius* Bishop and Martyre, long before the Councell of *Nice*, reporting to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, the originall of *Novatus* schisme, saith; this iolly inquisitor of the Gospel, understandeth not, that there ought to be but one Bishop in that Catholike Church, in which hee knoweth there are fourtie and sixe presbyters. Neither haue there wanted rules, whereby if it please them, they might easily make a difference betwixt these two; the presbyters were many in every Church, of whom the presbytery consisted; Bishops were alwaies singular, one in a citie; and noe more except an intrusion, which made a schisme. This singularity descended, from the Apostles, and their schollers in all the famous Churches of the world, by a chare of succession, and continueth to this day, where abomination or desolation (that is heresie or violence) haue not broake it off. The second signe of Episcopall power, was imposition of hands, to ordaine presbyters, and Bishops; for as pastors had some to assist them in their charge, which were presbyters, so were they to haue others to succcede, in their places, which were Bishops. And this right by imposing of hands to ordaine presbyters, and Bishops, was deriued at first from the Apostles, not vnto presbyters but Bishops onely. A thing continuing for this fiftene hundred yeare, without example or instance to the contrarie; and hath onely found resistance in our age; which surely in my opinion, cannot be ignorance so much in them, as willingnes to oppugne the gouernment of our Church; seeing there haue been few Churches of account, through all christendome, that had not (as may be shewed) Bishops and presbiters both at the same time. But *Austin* is most plaine who writing to one that was but a presbyter, saith, *Thou shalt be a presbyter as thou art, and hereafter when God will thou shalt be a Bishop*. This poynt is learnedly observed by that reuerend and worthie Bishop, whole

*In respons. ad Tractat de grad. ministr. Ab eo tempore quo cepit dici ego sum Pauli ego Appollo ego autem Cephe.*  
Hier. in cap. 3. ad Titum.  
Ezech. lib. 6. Cap 43.

D. Bilson Bish.  
of Winchester  
pag. 247.

*Eris presbyter et es & quando deus voluerit futurus Episcopus. Aust. Epist. 210.*

*Hierom aduers.  
Lucifer.*

*Luk. 9.*

labored defence, may shorten our trauell in this poynt. Now besides these, many other things were peculiar to Bishops, by the authoritie of the Canons, and custome of the Church; as *reconciling of penitents, confirmation of infants, dedication of Churches*, and such like, which were as Saint Hierom saith, *rather to the honor of priesthoode, then to the necessitie of any law*. Now if any man thinke this office superfluous in the Church, and of no vse; let him well consider before he censure them, what it is to see the Church continually stored, with sound, and able pastours to watch ouer their soules; to take care that the flocke of Christ be rightly taught, and soberly guided; to keepe both presbyters, and people, from schisme, heresie, and impietie; to direct in times of daunger; to determine doubts, without troubling the whole prouince; and if he shall thinke either these needles to be done, or lawfull and fit to be done by any other, we could (peraduenture) thinke it more tollerable, that an ordination, so ancient, and so much warranted, neuer interrupted in the orderly gouernment of any Church since the Apostles time, should notwithstanding be remooued, as a calling tyrannous, and antichristian, onely to content the humorous fancies of these men. But (doubtles) that which reasonably they mislike in this case, is, that men called to the office of the ministerie (a function meerely spirituall) and ordained to the dispensation of heavenly graces, should so farre either forget the vertuous example of our Sauour, or the humilitie of such whom they desire to succeede, that swelling with ambition, they renew the contention long since controuled in the disciples of Christ, *which should bee the greatest*; and are content if not to affect, yet to accept of those ciuill employments, which belong vnto the Princes counsell; whereby not onely they are made idle, and hindred from that dutie, which the Church requireth, but are puffed vp, with those Lordly titles which are directly vnlawfull, and without warrant. Now to preuent this, we admit Synodes (say they) and  
some



some to gather, and governe those assemblies; but for feare of ambition, we would haue that priuiledge to goe round by course, to all the pastors of euery prouince. Where men are irregular, we will not aske them, either for reason, or example for that they doe; but a chiefe man amongst them, *Beza in Resp.* confesseth, that this going round by course, to governe the *ad Traict. de* Church, doth maintaine disorder, and faction; and ambition *minist. grad.* is not at all decreased by it; and the choosing of one, to continue chiefe for his life, began at Alexandria, from the *fol. 143.* euangelist Saint Marke, fixe yeeres before Peter and Paul were martyred; fixe and thirtie before the death of Saint Iohn; in the which there is nothing that can, or ought to be misliked. This as it is true, so it is warranted with much reason; for vnlesse we suppose (a thing surely not likely, if possible) all in a presbytery to be men without fault, a power to doe harme vnto Christs Church, must by this *curricular resolution*, fall into their hands, whom wisdome of election, would hardly haue called to that place. Besides, what men shall worthily suffer, whilst they are inferiours, there is some likelyhoode, they will offer the like, when they doe commaund. Neither is this to quench ambition (as they thinke) but to kindle a farre greater, in the whole clergie. For what we giue vnto one experienced of yeeres, tried in gouernment, freed for the most part from the passions of young men, these without difference propound to all. And thus they cure this feuer of ambition, by infecting many; as if diseases were therefore lesse, because moe were sicke. For what cannot be inioyed without pride, is not easily expected without *sinne; fruition, and expectation* of one and the same thing, as so heere, that neither can be vertuous where both are not. Neither doe we giue vnto Archbishops or bishops, power or honor by Gods law, but what their people must needs yeeld vnto their pastors and presbyters, if they will haue any. We are not to limie Princes whom they shall vse in counsell, or to whom they shall com-



mit the execution of their lawes, especially such as are made for the Churches good; seeing we finde that God hath blest those Princes and kingdomes most; where vertuous Bishops haue been admitted to the Princes Councell; wherein surely they haue brought a farre greater benefit to the peace and prosperitie of the Church, then in reason they could by any other imployment besides. Neither was it a meanes for to be idle, either in *Caluin*, or *Beza* (both of them fit men for that place) that they were both admitted as counsellors of that state. It cannot chuse, but bee great intemperancie in them, who haue so dishonorably laboured to deface that dignitie, so auerient and of such vse in the Church of God, as also to wound euen the belt, and the worthiest in that place with tearmes farre vnbeseeeming, as if their vngouerned humors, had sully resolved to belch out poyson, against all that were thought excellent. It pleaseth one of them to censure them all thus; *Archbishops, and Bishops are unlawfull, unnaturall, false, and basely generous of the Church; and the ordinances of the diuell.* Another saith, they are in respect of their places, enemies to God. Much hath the vnwise and inmodest dealings of sundrie in our Church, labored to dishonor so honorable and so great an office; experience hath taught vs the good of them, and to these we onely make this answer; *that wee are Ieremie to Sacerdotes, so skilfull, and so willing to speake euill.* But doubtles it is loue to our present state, which hath made them so zealous in this cause; for (saith one) *If we be sworn to her maiesties most lawfull supremacie over all persons, and offic in our Church a lordly prelatie, a thing brought into the Church by humane inuention, by meanes whereof it is apparent that the Pope of Rome hath climed above all states both Ecclesiasticall and ciuill, if now, our desire extend it selfe, that our lordly dignities, and power of our Bishops might be examined by holy scripture, and brought backe a degree or twaine neerer to the apostolike practise, and Christs institution, that*

Hay you any  
work. pag. 21.

Vdā, dial. c. 1.

Iosias Nichols  
in the Plea of  
of the Inoc.  
pag. 76.

so all occasions might be cut off hereafter, that this clyming usurpation, might neuer take holde vpon England any more, are we troubles of the state? Doubles we are. If it were not a thing possible to make a difference betwixt the clyming usurpation of the Church of Rome, and the lawfull prelacie, how lordly so euer established in our Church, I doubt not but all our Bishops, would cast themselues at his Maiesties feete, and intreate his highnes to vnburthen them of all that honour, which hether to they haue held, iniurious to his supremacie, and contrarie to the scriptures, and the Apostles practise. To men of vnderstanding things could not bee thus odiously compared, that are moste vnlike. The Pope challengeth authoritie ouer all christendome, so doe not our Archbishops; the Pope exalteth himselfe about Kings and Princes, but our Archbishops, with reuerence and humilitie, acknowledge their subiection; and more dutifullly (I doubt not) then those, who thus carefully are fearefull, of their clyming. The Pope saith, that to bee subiect vnto him, is of necessity to saluation, our Archbishops acknowledge no such thing; and as their limits of gouernment are farre vnlike, so the manner of their gouernment, is farre more lawfull; the one being an usurpation, which ambition sought out; superstition and pollicie haue holden vp; the other a necessarie authoritie, which schismes and dissensions in the Church inuented, the Apostles vsed, all antiquitie followed; and the peace of the Church did impose vpon them. So that one of the most modest, and most learned, that seemeth to fauour the cause of discipline, maketh it a principall point of the Ecclesiasticall gouernment, that the inferior clergy in things honest, bee obedient to the Bishop, and the Bishop to the Metropolitane; expressing the vse of that which others vehemently mislike, and acknowledging the names, and subordination of both. But as it is an imputation, in their opinion, to the Archbishops that their place and authoritie is

*Ut peculiarem promitterent obedientiam in rebus honestis suo episcopo, & episcopi Metropolitano. Zanch. de Relig. cap. 25. Sect. 34.*

like

like the Popes, so it is a blemish to our Bishops; in the iudgement of these men, that for learning and vertue, they are not like vnto those holy fathers of the Church that haue gone before them. We dare not take vpon vs to thinke, that our times are better, and more fruitfull in vertue then other were; or that the Bishops of our land; (a thing to be wished) are all of them without fault; but seeing it pleaseth some to compare them thus, I hope it shall neither be dishonour to the vertuous memories of those that are dead; nor bee thought a flattery towards those that doe liue, if we say (considering we may say it with much truth) that for soundnesse of doctrine, honestie of life, and the moderate vse of externall things, they are not inferiour, to the most reuerend of those Bishops; that haue been before them. For doctrine, wee are loth to rippe vp the errors that the annient Bishops were infected with; *Papias* Bishop of *Ierusalem* (who liued in *Ignatius* and *Policarpus* time) held the error of a thousand yeere after the resurrection, wherein the kingdome of Christ, should here remaine vpon earth. Most of the aunient fathers, were infected with this opinion. *Saint Cyprian* that same clere fontaine, as *Saint Hierom* calles him, failed in the opinion of rebaptisation; diuers both of the Greeke and Latin Church, were spotted with the errors about *freewill*, *merits*, *inuocation of Saints*; many things might bee alleadged in this kinde (if it were any vertue to rippe vp their faults; whom we ought to honor) where as I hope the aduersaries to our Bishops, will confesse, that *never any companie of Bishops since the Apostles time, taught and held such sound doctrine, in all points as the Bishops of England at this day.* For the second which is *bounty of life*, euery age hath some imperfections amongst all conditions, & the most worthie are not free from the slanderers tongue. In the counsell of *Nice*, in the presence of the Emperor, the Bishops libeld one against another; contentions ouer eager & bitter, were betwixt *Euphrasius* and *Chrysostome*,

As my Lord  
Archbishop  
answered long  
sinceto T.C.

*Euseb. lib. 3.  
cap. 39. & 35.  
millenary.*

*Iustar fontis  
purissimi.*

*Chrysostome*, both very worthy and very reverend Bishops, betwixt *S. Austin*, and *S. Hierom*, whereas doubtles, if some zealous for discipline had held their peace, the Church of England had beene as Hierusalem a Citie, built at vnitie in it selfe.

Now for the last, which is the moderate Employment of externall things, vve reckon it amongst the greatest felicityes, of our time, that when the expectation of greedy cormorants, was big with hope, of the deuouring the riches and reuenues that the Church had, that euen then, the conscionable zeale of the prince, by vertuous and wise lawes, manacled their hands, whose desires were vn-satiat, and their harts vnhalloved, and left vnto the church, a rich and honorable patrimony, for Indowment, whereby worthy rulers, may not want double honor, labour may haue her merit, and religion may bee able to relecue the poore. Heerein if any couetously doe retaine, or riotously mispend, what vertuous authority confirmed vnto better vses, (a thing which I hope no man can accuse in the Bishops of our church) let them amend their faults, and not their offence be made, a cloke to those monsters, that thirst with desire for to robbè the church. More perticularly amongst the rest, of him who being the worst-thiest amongst the clergie, and worthylie in the highest place, is by an vntemperate spirit with vnholly sacriledge, said of all the Bishops in the sea of Canterburie, to haue done most harme, and that none had so ambitious, and aspiring a minde, as hee; no not Cardinall *Wolsey*; none so proud as he no not *Stephen Gardiner*; none so Tyrannicall as hee, no not *Bonner*. I may say truely of him, that if the church gouernment of this land, which he defended with great Iudgement with his pen, hee had not with as great authority protected for the space of this twenty yeres in the place of an Archbishop (which God graunt for the good of his church may continew still) doubtles *Contention*, *Ignorance*, and *Atheisme*, long since had ouer-runne the Church.

The Dialogue  
that came frō  
Throg. D. 3.

R.

Of

Of whom, because it is neither honour to him to be commended by mee, nor disgrace to be reproched by them, I will say considering his iustice in gouernment, his care in providing for the Clergie, his wisdom in Counselling, his Integrity in preferring, his Diligence in Preaching, his grauitie in behauiour, his humilitie in conuerfing, his care to the Church, his zeale to religion, his courage to the truth as *Theodosius* spake of S. *Ambrose*, I know onelie *Ambrose*, who is most worthy to be called a *Bishop*. But not to labour any further in this cause, ( which hath had so many of singular worthy men able to defend it much better ) wee say this calling so much misliked, serueth to a greater perfection, to a *finis in action*, and to a singular ornament, in gouerning the Church. For the first the fulnes of grace, which is in the heads of the Church distilleth as by seuerall wayes, to the singular benefit of all parts, whilst hee hath giuen some to be *Apostles*, some to be *Prophets*, some to be *Euangelists*, some to be *Pastors*, and *Doctors*, for the consummation and Perfection of his Church, for the *finis in action*, the Church hauing diuers Employments, as well for gouernment, as doctrine, requireth and alloweth seuerall ordinations, to serue these. Let no man therefore presume to vnderstand aboue that which is meete, to vnderstand, but that he vnderstand according to sobrietie, as God hath deli to euery man, the measure of faith. For as wee haue many members in one bodie, and all members haue not one office, so wee being many, are one bodie in Christ, and euery one anothers members.

Last of all for Ornament; that Atheists, vnbelieuers, may wonder and bee in loue, with the comely and beautifull gouernment of Christs Church, as the Queene of *Saba* was with the order of *Salomons* house, for in a great house are not onely vessels of gold, and of siluer, but of wood and earth, some for honour, and some vnto dishonour: *vnitie and varietie*, are the ornaments of the church of Christ; *Vnitie of Faith, Charitie, and Peace; Varietie of Offices*

Ambrosium  
noui vnum  
qui solus dig-  
ne vocetur  
Episcopus.

Eph. 4. 11.

Rom. 12. 3 4

1. King. 10. 5.

2. Tim. 2. 20.

*Offices and degrees, and these saith the Apostle for the repairing of the Saints, for the work of the Ministrie, & for the edification of the body of Christ; for if the whole body were an eare? wher were the seeing, if the whole were an eye? where were the hearing? but now hath God disposed the members euery one of them in the body at his owne pleasures; for if they were all one member, where were the body? And who are these, that they should mislike what Example, Authority and Experience, haue found sufficient.*

Eph. 4. 12.

1. Cor. 12. 17

18. 19.

R. ij.

CHAP.





## CHAP. X.

*Of Ministers their office and learning.*

**V**F the passage from earth to heauen, were either not needefull at all, or possible to bee performed ordinatilie by any other meanes, then a vertuous meditation betwixt God and man, then peradventure Instruments of best vse, for the defects of this life, were wholly to bee regarded, and the vtter want of the Clergies service, were as lawfull in the best kingdomes, as the contempt of their persons, is vsuall and common with the worst subiects. But seeing vniuersall Corruption, is the truest inscription of mankinde, and holinesse to the Lord is the great title, that God hath, that man by that power may bee made like vnto him that did first make him, hee hath appointed for the performance of this worke, *holy times, holy places, holy things, and holy persons*, all chiefly to this end, that as hee is himselfe so man likewise by these might bee made holie. As if the same puritie which could not endure those blessed spirits, once stained, to continew in a place of blisse, but cast them down, did lesse reasonable allow, that creature (whose greatest happines peradventure was but vpon earth) to be carried vp to heauen, into those ioyes, vnles redeemed by his Son, and sanctified by his holy spirit, and by both these by the service



service and ministerie of men, and not Angels, darkenesse were made light, rebellion obedience, the children of wrath the sonnes of an infinit love, enmitie reconciled, and made peace, and lastly sinfull men were become holy: So that the summe of their dutie, whose labours are employed in this kinde, is *onely to honour God, and to save men.* And their difference from all the world besides, is principally this, that being a severall portion of men, consecrated vnto the service of the most high, in things wherewith others may not meddle, as the peculiar lot of the Lord himselfe, they are a distinct order, not vnfitlie expressed by the name of Clergie. Whose spirituall power, consisting in the execution of holy things, properly is conuersant in the affaires of God. Now as no kingdome can stand without Religion (wherein though they erre yet a religion they must hold) so no religion can in severall duties, bee possible performed amongst men, where there are not with some fitnesse instruments allotted to that vse. And heerein Christianitie hath builded a liberall maintenance, in this land, to those that are now gouernours in the church of Christ, where blind Superstition, laid the foundation for the Priests of those Idols, which the heathen worshipped. As for the persons employed in this action, hee fitted those likewise in a celestiall manner, proportioned with his owne workings, who as in no sort, *he tooke vpon him the Angels nature, but tooke on him the seede of Abraham,* so hee vsed in this, the ministrie of men not of Angels, because where weakenesse from aboue is able to receiue strength, there the excellentest creatures, and the best meanes, are not all ones; Amazement out of feare, making our capacities more dull where our teachers are too glorious, and charitie not to bee so thankfull, when wee are not indebted to men of our owne nature, nor our Preachers are clothed with the same infirmities, that wee are. This being the greatest reason, why *Prophanesse* doth scorne, and *Wisedome* despise, what *Simplicitie* and *Humilitie* doe both worship. Yet the course of Instruction serueth to teach all, that the waies in these things which God and man vseth are not

28. Flamines  
turned into so  
many Bish. &  
3. Archflamins  
into 3. Archbi.  
in the daies of  
Eleutherig. 16  
Fox, Tom. 1.  
pag. 146.  
Platin. Gal-  
frid. Momu.  
Heb. 2. 16.

both alike. Neither was this Office (though his worke) befitting the Maiestie of God himfelfe, seeing we are apt to contemne that presence (how glorious soeuer) if it bee common, or to tremble at the brightnesse of so great a power, if it bee not common. In which respect, that wisdom which knew best, how most fitlie to prouide for mans weakenesse, did sometime (though seldome) in a cloud, in a fire, in the shape of a man, appeare vnto his own people, sometime with *Moses* he spake face to face, yet graunted the desire of his fearefull seruants, when they

Exod. 10. 19.

Deut. 5. 18. 19.

spake to *Moses*, *talke thou with vs, and wee will heare, but let not God talke with vs least wee die.* This Wisdome of theirs, hauing approbation from God himfelfe, *I haue heard the voice of the words of this people, which they haue spoken vnto thee, they haue well said, all that they haue spoken, Oh that there were such an heart in them to feare mee, and to keepe all my commandments alway, that it might goe well with them, and with their children for euer.* But to the Sonne of God, when hee became man, so being made fittest, both to do, and to suffer for vs, the voice from heauen gaue this testimonie *heare him.* As if the same power which by religion purposed to bring man from earth to heauen, found no Instrument fitter for this vse, then onely the seruice of man himfelfe Nothing being so comfortable to vs, as that voice of the Apostles to the men of *Lisra*, *wee are euem*

Math. 3.

Act. 14. 15.

*men subiect to the like Passions that yee bee and preach vnto you, that yee should turne from these vaine things, vnto the liuing God, which made heauen and earth, and the sea, and all things that in them are* this maketh the Church to goe

Heb. 4. 15.

boldlie to the throne of grace, *that she may receiue mercie, and finde grace to help in time of need.* Thus al things which are from God, are sodred, as it wer together with so much art and loue, causing a mutuall assistance that the lowest of mankinde, are appointed to receiue from the nearest vnto themselves, what the mercie and the influence of the highest yceldeth, wherein as those whom God imployeth in this busines, beeing *Embassadours* receiue commission onely from him, whose inward affaires they menage, hee  
being

being the father of Spirits and soules the purchase of his owne sonne, and thereby may challenge of the children of the Church honor and respect aboue other men, so doth the Church likewise require vertuous abilitiments, matched with good learning at their hands; heereof they are fitly remembered by that *Urim and Thummim*, vpon *Aarons* brest, and by those names of *Watchmen, Lights, Salt, Guides*, and such like, which the scripture doth giue vnto them. Requiring in all ( yet accepting though not excusing a lesse measure ) in some sort an ability sufficient to informe the Church. The small difference in this kinde from the common sort, in some of those ages that haue beene before vs, gaue men occasion to thinck and say, that the Laitie and the Clergie were all one. Nay diuers amongst vs, haue laid this vntrue accusation vpon our Church, ( with what conscience and honestie the world may iudge ) as if our land, onely of all those kingdomes that are reformed, were not carefull, to haue a learned ministrie, but wer absolutely content, with those persons, who for the discharge of this dutie, could but onely reade. Let them first vnderstand what we say, and then let the world bee our Iudge, if wee say true.

Doubtlesse if the heathen required in those that were their Priests, that they should bee able for knowledge to performe those duties, of *Counsell and Devotion* which others could not, let no man think but that wee principally desire, a soundnesse of Iudgement, knowledge of scripture, wisdom to Interpret, an eloquence to vtter, power to exart, zeale to reprove, in the ministers of God, and all these in farre greater measure; then in other men; but may wee not *seeing hee that liueth made all things together, the Lord who onely is iust, and there is none other but hee, and hee remaineth a victorious King for euer, hee ordereth the world with the power of his hand, and all things obey his will, for hee gouerneth all things by his power, and denieth the holie things from the prophane,* say with the *Eccle. 1. 3.* sonne of *Sirach*, to whom hath hee giuen power to expresse his works, or who is sufficient for these things? neither *2. Cor. 2. 16.* must

2. Cor. 13.

Math. 25.

must this hould all those back who are willing to bestow their labours for the benefit of gods Church, because they are not able (no not in any tollerable manner) to performe all these; seeing *his strength is oftentimes perfected in our weaknesse*, and to discharge our calling (as to auoid temptations) this must bee our comfort, whilst wee desire for to grow better, that his *Grace is sufficient for vs*. For as in distribution of gifts, God giueth not the same number of talents, to all, neither doth hee expect equall proportion of increase, nor blameth him that had but one talent, that hee got not fīue, or two, but onely for this, that hee did not vse it. So that if those of the lowest sort of Clergie, who in the plentiful knowledge of this age, modestly content themselves onely to reade the Scriptures, and the profitable indeuours of other men (whilst some not much their betters for learning out of a bold presumption arising from a false opinion of equalitie in all degrees, dare approach the honorablest and grauest assemblies in this land) shall wee thinke their modestie deserueth so much blame, as that they are not worthy to bee tearmed ministers? and not rather blame the vninodest presumption of others, who vnskillfully and boldly, haue taken vpon them, the dispatch of those duties, which doubtlesse by many hundreds, might haue beene performed much better. And I am sorie it fareth with vs in this case, worse then it doth in all other courses besides, seeing commodities, and seruices, are worthely suspected, onely in this respect that they are offered; and in these functions much holier, and of more weight, they are thought by some to deserue better, in that they boldly and vnconscionably, outrun the rest. As if in the discharge of these sacred duties, an *Unhallowed Emulation* were the best vertue, or that a lawfull ordination to preach, were a warrant sufficient, allwaies to preach where it pleaseth them. This error to bold and overfoule, if it were not the vsuall mildemeanor of those men, who to rigorously (beeing vnlearned themselves) call for a learned ministrie, wee could as easilie afford them  
their

their desired happinesse, as wee are willing to craue pardon for others, that beeing better learned, are not indued with the like boldnesse. Wee doubt not but all men in this calling, haue great reason to vse, the vttermost of their learning to the benefit of Gods Church, and that those who are not so well able to teach others, should indeuour themselues to bee more learned. Which vertuous trauels of theirs, so much deserueth the more fauour, in that there is no calling, which hath not more ease, and whose scope is not shorter, then the vnlimited, and endlesse desire to obtaine knowledge. In which respect, men indued with greater gifts should receiue from the Church a better recompence; and where there worthynesse is farre vnequall, there both with Prince and people, (which is some mens error) their *estimation and honor ought not to bee all one.*

For euen the heathen Philosophers (who in comparison of these drunk but of the standing waters which were drie in the time of heate) forsaking the fountaine of life, euen the Lord himselfe, for that glorious show (which was nothing else but like the beames of a Comet, to be wondered at, for a time, but neither of continuance, nor influence) amongst many, they were much esteemed; the heathen Princes finding this benefit at their hands, that those Morall vertues, wherein they were excellent, like sweet flowers had withered long since, if men of learning, like skilful Apothecaries had not distilled them. But the knowledge of these, surely was amisse, in leauing that which was necessarie for a thing superfluous, a thing sound for that which was emptie, profitable for that which to a better life serued to small vse, and a thing (in comparison) euill for that which was absolutely good. Yet whilst wee haue dispersed these (digging wels vnto our selues like those of *Isack*, *Contention* and *Hatred*) were putt vp with an opinion that we know much; as if our weakenesse, could incounter the worthiest for learning that the Church hath. *Who in deed as concerning time, ought to bee teachers, yet haue neede againe to bee taught, what are the first principles of the word*

*Falsa est eorum scientia qui quod necessarium est pro suo deserunt quod solidum vacuo, vtile inutuli, bonum pro malo.*  
Gregor.  
Ezek. Contention.  
Sitnah. Hatred  
Gen. 26, 30, 31.

Sivitium in  
rep. Sacerdotii  
non est sanū.

of God, and surely the most faults in the Kingdome have proceeded from this fountaine, that the *Priesthoode for doctrine is not sound*: Who being faultie in this kinde, if they had tempred themselues from teaching so much, vntill they had learned more, it is like the Church had beene healed of a great part of that malladie, wherewith shee is now sicke. Whom I would bee loath to take vpon mee to reprove, (seeing in their opinion they are wise men) but onely to put them in minde of this, that an *Ecclesiasticall Ministrie is their function*. This ought to teach them, that corners are no fit temples to preach their doctrine, especially now in the time of peace, or if necessity at sometimes require it of them, yet that their doctrine bee such, as for soundnesse and truth, it may befit the Temple. Secondly that the Church by those whom she hath inuested with that power, should call such vnto that place, whose labours shee purposeth to vse in that kinde. For the Church hath no reason to heare their voice, whom Christ hath not commanded for to feede his sheepe. Wherein if those in authoritie (by ordaining men altogether vnworthie) vnhonestly discharge that trust, which the Church doth impose vpon them, it is their fault who abusing that honor, which they haue receiued, haue nourished some *Wolues*, to deuoure the flock. In detestation whereof multitudes often times cry out, whilst *Foxes* are honoured as holy creatures.

Luk. 12. 14.

But seeing it is true, that the dulnesse of our witts, and the strength of our fancies, maketh vs run after to beleue, ( and those whom authoritie suppresseth as men that deserue euill wee releue them as martyrs that suffered for well doing ) our Church had small gaine to exchange the ignorance of her worst ministers, for the fastidious *Employments* of those men. Now, seeing these men by reason of their holy function are called stewards, *ouer the Church*, which is Gods household, the holie Ghost telleth vs who is a faithfull and wise steward whom the maister shall make ruler ouer all his household, to *giue them their portion of Meate in due season*, commending

mending vnto vs (as some of the fathers obserue) those  
 five properties; *Truth, Humilitie, Discretion, a lawfull  
 Calling, fit execution of the Place*, which are requisit in  
 him who desireth the approbation of a good steward  
 that neither hee bee a *betraye*r of the flock nor *wastfull*;  
 accounting that his owne which is but onely committed  
 to his charge; of such a one wee say as the holy Ghost  
 in another case, *who is so faithfull amongst all thy seruants  
 as David*. For doubtlesse many men, will boast euerie one  
 of his owne goodnesse, but who can finde a faithfull man.  
 Secondly that hee bee *humble*, remembring that hee is  
 but a fellow seruant, which vertue is not so repugnant  
 (as some think) to the highest title of office in our  
 Church, but that experience hath taught vs, how both  
 of them fitly may bee ioyned together. Thirdly, *wis*e, not  
 blind, nor an *Idote*, of whom the Prophet speaketh, *their  
 watchmen are all blinde, they haue no Knowledge, they are  
 all dumb dogs, they cannot barked, they lie and sleepe and de-  
 light in sleeping*; surely *Fortitude*, and *Constancie* are re-  
 quired of such as haue set their hands vnto the Lords  
 plough. *wisedome* in those that are made watchmen ouer  
 the Lords house, *Iustice*, in that they are Debtors, both  
 to wife & foolish; and *Temperance* in the performace of  
 this duty. We may & ought to say (I hope without offence)  
 to the *Honorable Bishops*, the fathers of our Churches,  
 as Ioseph said to *Pharo*, *provide for a man of understand-  
 ing, and wisedome, and set him ouer the Land of Egypt*.  
 ther is nothing surely more dangerous then a *watchman*,  
 that is *blind*, a *Preacher* that is *dumb*, a *Teacher* that is *ig-  
 norant*, or a *Prelate* that is *Remisse*, neither doe I think  
 our Church, hath so much cause to censure, (as some  
 men beare vs in hand) nor if it had (as may appeare  
 hereafter) it is neither onely nor *Principally*, the Bishops  
 fault. Fourthly a lawfull calling, *whom the lord hath made not  
 be whom fauour*, nor any other corruption, nor the peoples  
*unwarranted vocation*, nor his owne *Intrusion* hath placed  
 in that roome. For this shall remaine *undispensable* to the  
 worlds end, *let no man take upon him that honor, but hee*

Non proditor  
 aut raptor.  
 Chnsost.

1 Sam. 22 14.  
 Prou. 20. 6.

A Layman.  
 El. 36. 10.  
 This was spokē  
 against Kings,  
 Princes, and  
 Magist, Caluine.  
 Ber.

Gen. 41. 33.

Speculator  
 cæcus.  
 Piceo murus.  
 Doctor incus.  
 Prelatus re-  
 missus.

Heb. 5. 4.

S. j.

that



that is called of God as Aaron was.

Lastly is required the fit execution of his Place, that hee giue them their meate in due season; the parties are those, which are of his familie, the Lords house, to them it must bee Meate, not Possion, as many giue; and it must bee in Due season, that is when it can seasonable bee performed. For hee that hath allotted a time for all things, hath given this allowance, that there is a time to keepe silence, and a time to speake. Which some not considering, haue made the Apollles commaundement (*Bee instant in season and out of season*) to lie with equall necessitie, vpon the former clause, *Preach the word*: As if this eagernes in the dispatch of this dutie, might warrant them, loosely, negligently, vnlearnedly (for want of time) to preach those profound misteries, which vttered in due season, are like *Aples of Gold with pictures of Siluer*. Surely to Preach diligently, is not so Preach often, but rather to bee diligent in studying, for that we preach; which a great number neglecting (men otherwise zealous and able to doe well) haue thought it not onely Excuse, but Commendation sufficient, that they preach often.

Wherein doubtles the Church receiueth at their hands a double wrong; both a Contempt of those misteries, wherinto they search not, for want of time, and an vcharitable Condemning of others, who wanting peradventure that felicitie of tongue which they haue, or rather who are loath to handle those holy things vnlike themselues, are thought by many, to bee Idle, for not Preaching so often, as others doe. A thing certainly more excusable by much, if men in Preaching were onely to haue respect, to the Capacities of the hearers, and not to the Maiestie of that word, which they expound vnto them. Forgetting that *Every Scribe that is taught vnto the Kingdome of Heauen, is like vnto a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things*

Math. 13. 52.

Αἰσχρολογία καὶ ὁμιλία.

καὶ ὁμιλία καὶ ὁμιλία.

Εὐπολία.

Eccle. 3. 16, 17.

both new and old. I hope the due meditation of this text, will put them in minde, that to speake often, is not euer to say much; for saith the son of Sirach, *The talking of a Fowle, is like a burthen in the way, but there is comelinesse in the talke*

of

of a Wise man they inquire at the mouth of the wise man in verse. 29. the congregation. & they shall ponder his words in their hart, for the words of such as haue understanding, are weighed in the ballance. Doubtlesse I can neuer perswade my selfe, when Wee speake of those matters, which wee haue made vnto the King of Heauen, that the exactest Industrie, which either tongue or pen can take in the handling of this work can displease God; wherein I will not condemne (as vnprofitable) the labours of such, who are defectiue in this kinde; no more then I hope they will, the Seldome, Reuerend, and learned Preaching of those men, who in these respects are not so common speakers; as others bee. But not to handle the excellencies of some, and the vertues which were to bee wished in all, let vs consider a little better, the nature of this Ministry, and see how sufficiently our Church is provided in this kinde. And the defects (if there bee any as wee may not suppose that wee haue none) from whence they proceed, and how the best remedies may bee provided for them.

We call then the Ecclesiasticall Ministry a sacred Action, Publick, Instituted of Christ in the Church of God, for the salvation of the elect, & his own glory, untill the end of the world, wherein some seuerall men, Lawfully elected, called, and ordained to this function, Externallie and Visiblie, serue both to offer vp the Publick and Common praiers of any one Church, and by the pure Preaching of the word, and the lawfull administration of the Sacraments, and holy Discipline, they serue Instrumentallie to Christ, who Inwardly and Inuisiblie, by his holy Spirit, doth Teach, Correct, Comfort, Nourish with his flesh and bloud, his mysticall Bodie, which wee call the Church. The consideration it is like of this office, hath neither fully posselt all who are desirous to enter into this calling, (because whom all other worldlie hopes haue forsaken they commonly reſerue ministeriall vocation as their last and surest refuge, euer open to forlorne men) nor those who blame some part of the Clergie of this land; whereas in deed the great-

S.ij.

nelle

Zanch in 4.  
 Prec. Cap. 19.  
 pag. 654.

nesse of the harvest, and the scarcetie of able workmen hath made it necessarie that *Law* should yeelde to admit numbers of men, but slenderlie and meanlie qualified; now as wee cannot excuse the former fault, whether it bee the corruption in their owne desires, or the greedinesse of those who are the Patrons of Church livings, making that the *Church*, that should nourish them; whose service shee needeth, hath obtruded vpon her their service that know not other wise how to liue, and sustaine themselves. Yet surely for the other neither is the fault so common, as it hath beene in times past, nor altogether so great, (if these *Reformers* who haue so much knowledge themselves could but with patience indure a smaller proportion in other menne) for it fareth with the Church as with a common wealth, where manie governours are needfull, and they not many whom their qualitie can commend. the penurie of worthier, must needs make the meaner sort capable, who notwithstanding are not altogether so vnfit as some men thinke to discharge the greatest if not the principallest part which is committed to them.

For seeing no man of sound Iudgement, can doubt but that Sacraments, where the Ministers haue lawfull ordination (nay peradventure Baptisme wher they haue not) is as auailable to saluation, as administred by the best Preacher; and that preaching it selfe, is not onely to make, and frame of themselves (which manie doe foolishly, which are thought by their followers that they preach well) but also to reade the *Scriptures*, and those learned *Homelies* of other men, as some vnanswerably haue confirmed vnto vs, and that not the least part of this dutie is the publike offering up of the prayers of the whole Congregation, which themselves confesse to bee *Prayers*, though the other to bee no *Sermons*; we may boldly say (which they hitherto are both to confesse) that Ministers vnable to preach in that manner, as they vnderstand preaching. and of lesse profound learning then these great *Reformers* haue in themselves, and doe wish in others, are notwithstanding *True Mini-*

Apollon  
preached di-  
ligently and  
knew only the  
Bap. of Iohn  
A. 18.

Nec ignoro  
maximū ho-  
nores ad pa-  
dignos pen-  
ria meliorū  
lere deserv-  
Māmer-  
Panager, ad  
Iulianum.

My L. Grace,  
M. Hooker,  
Perkins vpon  
the L. praier.

*pers, Lawfully ordained, and that the Church is not simple faultie for admitting of these men, to the performance of these duties.* Hereunto we add, that being *Private Instruction*, and *Exhortation*, was the most vsuall kinde of teaching in the Apostles times; both because Publicke authoritie did not fauour publicke Assemblies to this end, and that simple men are better informed by priuate conference, and considering the nature of profound Schollers, is not altogether so easilie framed to goe from house to house to this purpose, nor can if they had inclination and leasure, probable frame themselves to the small capacities of the poore people, which (notwithstanding) greater employments of the Church, if they were willing would denie vnto them; we rather chuse to haue them receiue Instruction, from meane Schollers, such as our Church admitteth (not vniprofitably) to that vse, then wholie in expectation of great learned men, to liue and die with no other Information then they heare at Sermons. So that touching those Arguments taken from the Principles of common right, to proue that Ministers should bee learned, as likewise those authorities of the Apostle alledged to that end, because *S. Paul* requireth in a Minister abilitie to teach, to conuince, to distribute the word rightly, because also the Lord himselfe, hath protested they shall bee no Priests to him, which haue reiected knowledge, and because if the blind lead the blind, they must both needs fall into the ditch, wee hold it iust, and requisite, according to the lawes and statutes which the Scripture hath the Cannons that are taken out of auncient Sinods, the decrees and constitutions of sincerest times; the sentences of all antiquitie, and the conscience of men; that *Ignorance* is a great sinne, in those that haue taken vpon them the cure of soules.

But seing to furnish all places of *Cure* in this Realme, it is not an armie of *twelue thousand men*, that would suffice, nor two *Universities* (though both well stored) can alwaies supply so many as decay in so great number; nor the fourth part of the liuings with *Cure* able when they fall to giue maintenance to learned men; It must needs

Into what  
house to meet  
ye enter say  
Pax huic domui  
Luk. 10.

Maximū vingu-  
di impedimē-  
tū est expecta-  
tio quę pendet  
ex crastino per  
dis hodiernū.  
Sene. de breui  
vitę.  
1. Tim. 3. 2.  
Titus. 1. 9.  
2. Tim. 2. 15.  
Hos. 4. 6.

Math. 15. 14.

A true obser-  
uation of M.  
Hooker.

in reason bee allowed (vnlesse the greatest part of the people should bee altogether left voide of the vse and exercise of Religion) that a number must bee admitted into *Ecclesiasticall Order*, which doubtlesse for learning, are but meanelly furnished. For whatsoeuer wee may conceine in our plots, priuatlie in our studies, or vtter to others to maintaine argument, yet surely reason will tell vs, that (all vneuitable necessities considered) besids eminent and competent learning, wee shall bee forced, for supply of this calling, to discend a step, which is neither, but onely tollerable.

Wherein if hee that is Iudge, for the allowance of those men, shall finde them able to performe the seruice of publicke Praier, to minister the Sacraments vnto the people, to solemnize Marriage, to visit the Sick, and burie the Dead, (which some fondly think to bee no part of the Ministers dutie) to instruct by reading (although by more learned preaching as yet they cannot) wee hold in this case, that the law of the Apostile is not altogether broken. In this respect we obey necessitie, which we know not how possible to auoide otherwise, and of two euils make choice of that, which is lesse dangerous: seeing some inconueniences being tollerated in this, it may notwithstanding be recompenced with greater good; and if euen these men (the lowest almost of the Clergie which our Church hath) who are accounted by others to bee dumb and silent, may and doe in some degree, as profitably instruct their Parishioners as some others, who of as meane gifts but of more audacitie then they, dare take vpon them to expound and diuide the Scriptures by Preaching vpon some text, wherunto notwithstanding they come nothing neere: whereas the onely reading of Scripture in the other, is properly to bee termed a Preaching, what reason haue they with disdain so to think and to speake of them? for surely when the world most abounded with iust, righteous, and perfect men, their chiefe studie was the exercise of pietie, wherein for the safest direction they reuerently harkened to the reading of the law of God, they kept in minde the *Oracles* and

**Titus. 3. 9.**

Que Prophetae  
vaticinati sunt  
populis predi-  
care hoc est  
legere.

Gloss. in verb.  
predicare dist.

25. C. perlectis

S. ad Lectore,

and *Aphorismes* of wisdom, which tended vnto vertuous life, if any scruple of conscience did trouble them for matter of actions, which they tooke in hand, nothing was attempted before counsell and aduice were had, for feare least rashlie they might offend, wee are now more confident, not that our knowledge is more, but because *M. Hook lib. 3.* our desires are an other way, their Scope was Obedience, *pag. 263:* ours is *Skill*, their Indeuour was reformation of life, our *Verine* nothing but to here gladlie the reproofe of Vice, they in the practice of religion wearied chieflie their knees and hands, wee especiallie our eares and tongues, wee haue grown to an intemperancie (as one noteth) that the desire of *Sermons*, hath brought almost all other duties of religion out of tast: and in these wee think onelie such, to bee most excellent, who are aptest to mislike what superiors in their wisdom alloweth, and what the giddinelle of our fancies desire to haue chaunged. These compared with the other, which doe onelie read, and yet are obedient to the Princes lawes, are to receiue encouragement and allowance, when as the other, (better learned paradniture in small measure) for their vniuile disobedience deserue neither. For it is much better that the Church should want altogether the benefit of such mens labours, then indure the mischief of their inconformitie to good lawes.

In which case if any by beeing put to silence, repine at the course and proceedings of Iustice, they must learne to content themselves, with the answere of that wise Ro-*M. Curius.* man, which hauing occasion to cut off one from the bodie of the common wealth, in whose beehalfe because it might haue bene pleaded, that the partie was a man seruiceable, he therefore beegan his Iudiciall sentence, with this preface; *The common wealth needeth men of qualitie, yet neuer those men, which haue not learned how to obey.* Now because neither any man in our Church taketh vpon him the defence of vnlearned Ministers, nor the lawes of our land inclyne not to the fauoring of that defect, (as if wee expected no more of any then we allow in some.) It must needs

T

bee

Non est opus  
recip. eo ciue  
qui parire nes-  
ciet. Val. Max.  
lib. 6. cap. 3.



Nichols in the  
plea. pag. 145.  
Lin. 12.

Nichols. pag.  
171. Lin. 1.  
1. Tim. 3.

Confess. Hel-  
uet.

Which are a-  
bout 8000.

bee a slander in them, who think *there are worthis men enough, if they wer sought after, both in the Universities & o-  
ther wheres, but while men are suffered to run, and ride, and  
catch before they fall, many worthis men are passed ouer & not  
knowne, some are faine to bee schoolemaisters, and some bee-  
cause of these troubles, change their Audies.* First I desire  
this man to remember his owne words in another place;  
If hee think there are worthis men enough, why doth he  
complaine of the silencing of some as a great wrong to the  
Church, *which in this great scarcitie of good, and lawfull Mi-  
nisters, did much want their seruice.* Secondly, that the A-  
postle described, the qualities required in men of this cal-  
ling, doth not say, that if none can bee found, or not a suf-  
ficient man, in whome all these qualities concur, that then  
the Church shal rather be destitute of Ministers, then haue  
such. For there were in the Apostles time, that swarued fro  
this rule, and yet he was glad that they preached the Gos-  
pell. Heerein we differ not from the confession of the Hel-  
uetian church, (which it is like our aduersaries in this cause  
doe more reuerence then they doe our owne) who say, wee  
*condemne all vnmeet Ministers not indued with gifts ne-  
cessarie for a shepheard, that should feed his flock, how bee it  
wee acknowledge that the harmlesse simplicitie of some shep-  
heards in the ould Church, did sometime more profit the  
Church then the great exquisit, but a little to proude learning  
of some others.*

Wherefore we reiect not now a daies the *good simplici-  
tie of certaine* so that they bee not altogether vnskillfull of  
God and his word; and yet for all this, let no man think,  
but there are as many learned, godlie, graue, and worthy  
Ministers of the word in this Church of England at this  
day, (bee it spoken without pride to Gods honour and  
the joy of our whole land) as in any one realme, or per-  
ticuler Church in all Christendome, that either is now, or  
hath beene before vs. But for the scarcitie (not of our  
owne in comparison of others) but rather in respect of  
the multitude of our parish Churches, I hope they will  
giue vs leave to render them better, and truer reasons then



as yet wee haue receiued at their hands, who onely with out cause to make it the Bishops fault, are willing to tell the world that if these, vrging of order and obedience, which it pleaseth them to tearme *beggerlie trifle of mans deuise were not* (that then learning and religion would not bee of so little account, and estimation amongst vs. But I hope all men see, that the defect of prouision in this kind, (and yet I wish that most reformed Churches were but so well furnished) is neither from religion professed, nor from the gouernment that is vsed, nor from the gouernours of the Church, but the crueltie of the times past, wherein numbers of meete Ministers haue beene consumed, the vnwillingnesse of manie at this present, who seeing the contentions amongst our selues, and by reason of these the contempt of the Clergie, are vnwilling to enter into this calling, the schismes and deuisions which haue made a number renounce this office, others worthilie to bee suspended and deprived, from all which the Church (which ought to haue had the vse of the labour and learning of men of abilitie) is forced to craue a supply at their hands, who are not altogether so sufficient to performe that charge. But the greatest occasion of this euill, is where law and reason haue giuen authoritie to some to be patrons to present, their consciences haue beene corrupt, and they haue failed of that trust which former times haue iustlie reposed in them. Wherein if the people complaine, that their authoritie to choose is defeated by this meanes, surely it is but vnthankfulnesse in them, to mislike a thing begun with so great reason for their good, continued now more then a thousand yeeres, warrantd by lawes, and practised with the liking of all nations, the beeginning of patronages is not expresse mentioned in the lawes of this land, *Aduocations & Presentations* are remembred in *Magna Charta*, as currant by the lawes before that time, the plea of *Quare Impedit*, when Bishops refuse the patrons clarke, is mentioned long since, for this custome was most vsuall, that the patron might not place a Clarke without the Bishop, nor the Bishop refuse the Clarke of

Nichols plea.  
Pag. 171.  
Lin. 14.

Magna Charta  
33. & 13.

Ann. 51. Hen. 3  
Ansegisus legum. Francie.  
lib. 1. cap. 84.  
Anno. 827.

the patron, if hee were such as were allowable by the Canons of the Church.

Anno. 644.  
Concilij Tol.  
9. cap. 2.

In *Spain* before that time, the councell of *Toledo* made this Canon; *wee decree that so long as the founders of Churches remaine in this life, they shall bee suffered to haue the chiefe and continuall care of the said place, and themselves shall offer meete Rectors, vnto the Bishop to bee ordained in those Churches, and if the Bishop (neglecting the founders) shall presume to place any other let him know that this admission, shall bee void and to his shame, others shall be placed in their steads, euen such as the founders shall choose, being not unworthy.* Long before this the like was deter-

Nouella Con-  
stit. 123. cap. 18

mined by the *Roman lawes*, strictlie to bee obserued through the *Roman Empire*. If any build a Church or house of praier, and would haue *Clarks* to bee placed there, hee or his heires, if hee allow maintenance for those *Clarks*, and name such as are worthy, let them bee ordained vpon his nomination, but if such as they choose bee prohibited by the *Canons*, as unworthy, then let the *Bishop* take care to promote some whom hee thinketh to bee more worthy. It seemeth this law had two reasons, for the patronage, which doubtlesse are not the least ground of that intrest which they now haue. The first the building of the Church, a work which while the world was in loue, with religion gained greatest reuerence, to those of whom it could point and say, *these are the men that haue built vs Synagogs.*

Omnia ista  
tam propitius  
aspiciet quam  
egros suos  
medicus. Sen.  
lib. 2. de Ira,  
1. Sam. 30.

Heerein if any fraudulentlie discharge, that vertuous trust which through many discents is deriued vnto them, I hope God will looke vpon them in mercie to amendment, as the carefull Philition vpon sick persons: in the meane time I must tell them what I heare, that the church by their meanes is like the body of the *Amalekite* sicke, and vnlesse it bee refreshed, like speedily to die for famine. For whilst meaner men, content with lesse allowance hauing beene important suters for places in the Church, obtaine them, the Patrons haue deuided the maintenance of the *Glergie*, and the small allowance hath deprived them peraduenure of a better teacher. And howsoever good  
lawes

lawes haue beene made, to auoide the corruptions of Patrons in this kinde, yet the couetous desires of such, as hardly satisfied, are able to finde meanes to escape the danger, and yet falselie notwithstanding to defraud the Church. For humane lawes (how vertuous or religious soeuer) where the vprightnesse of conscience is wanting, serueth for the most part, not to make the sinne to bee lesse common, but the sinner in the fact to bee more secret: seeing betwixt God and man, this is the difference, that the law of man, what it seeth doth account sinne; but God punisheth as a fault what no man can reueale, sauing onely the conscience of him that sinneth. In the one, *Confession* is a way to obtaine pardon, but in the other a meanes to procure punishment; *They onely are vertuous, who without all respects in respect of Conscience, are onely vertuous.* To conclude then this point, we say our lawes, & our tongues desire that our Ministrie may be learned, through the whole land: that the hinderance of this is not wholly in the gouernours of the Church: that a lesse portion of learning may serue, then some men exact in all; & vntill better supply may be had, *we Reuerence, Vse, and Esteeme,* the meanest of these, as the Ministers of Iesus Christ.

T. C. aloweth  
onely readers,  
pag. 104. Sect 3  
Some godly  
graue man  
which can doe  
nothing else  
but read, may  
be appointed  
to be reader  
in the church,

T. iij.

CHAP.





## CHAP. XI.

*Of the maintenance of the Ministers, and  
of Tythes.*



Sit is of all vertuous considerations to a Prince not one of the left moment, (if both for the safetie of his subiects, for remouing of scandall, and the discharge of his owne conscience in the day of account, it bee not the greatest) to prouide for a learned Ministerie in all parts of his kingdome; so it is not either of least difficultie or least vse, to ordaine a conuenient and bountifull allowance for them; neither can this (how wisely soeuer governd) bee a *perpetuall maintenance*, if it shall depend vpon the voluntary contribution of rich men; or to be thought an allowance fit and conuenient for them, if it be not. So that the wisdom of deuout men in times past, from their religion, were as carefull to haue allotted a perpetuie of liuing to them whose continuall successors could not dye, and were not lykely to be very euill, as naturall parents, for that race, which proceeding out of their owne bodies, (more subiect both to ende and miscarry) are notwithstanding desirous, that they may be richly furnished, and plentifully maintained for a long tyme. *Vertue working as strongly and providently in the one,*

one; as nature and *affection* in the other. So that what care those that were beefore vs, vertuously imployed in this kinde, by indowing both *Churches*, and other places, (both to furnish and giue rest to the Clergie) with honorable, & perpetuall allowance to this end, serueth both to make the labour now far easier, to prouide maintenance for a learned Ministrie, the greatt part whereof their religious deuotion hath performed vnto vs; as also to make vs, so holily to esteeme of those things which i their wisdome did consecrate to this end; that pollicie cannot thinke alterations or diminutions in this kind to bee safe, euen where vn-hallowed, *Prophane*, and cruell *Sacredge*, were accounted to bee no sinne.

1 Vniuersities  
2 & Cathedrall  
Churches.

For seeing the Chruch peraduenture doth now want, what authoritie thought fit, to take from her, because Superstition had made her too rich, and *Alterations* onely might haue giuen some hope, that time would haue brought those religious houses and lands into their possessions againe, whose erronious blindnesse deserueth an euerlasting banishment: it is wisdome rather to tolerate some things, for the maintenance of the Clergie, which a few wandring person (made rich by contributions, whilst a great number zealously blind are made poore to maintaine them) think and write against with great bitterness, (as the meanes of idlenesse and a superfluous pompe) then stirred vp by the inconsiderate enuie of these men, being vpon the Church such vnecessary want, that if the deuotion of the Apostles time, wherein they sould their possessions, and laid the price at their feete, faile, (as no doubt they doe) the Church must either bee desperately poore, or beg her reliefe from those kingdomes that are next vnto her. Wherein besides the iniurie to God, which is no lesse then a bould prophanation of holy things, the Church receiueth at their hands a double wrong. First an apparant discouragement from entring into that calling, wherein how faithfully soeuer they imploy themselues, & with how great sinceritie soeuer it be vndertaken by them, yet few or none (doubtles) wilbe willing to vndergoe either  
the

the labour, or the contempe, when so slender recompence, & so small rewards, are allotted to them. Both which of necessity must be, seeing almes, seldom, when it is no matter of extraordinary zeale, floweth with so great a streame from worldly men, that it hath or can haue, any possibility to effect either: the other is the intollerable burden of the poore, which now lieth vpon the shoulders of the laities in former times whilst the church was rich, beeing chiefly the humble almes-men of religious houses, and now because both the charity, and the meanes faile, the Clergie ( who for the most part are fitter to receiue then to giue reliefe ) haue referred this waight to the laitie, which neither they can well beare, nor easily put off. And yet an extremitie in this kind, hath bene the originall of good lawes, for the redresse of it.

Anno. 39.  
Elizab.

Now surelie all this must of necessitie bee more desperatie euill, if either our owne couetousnesse, or the clamorous zeale of some inconsiderat men, cause vs to make a diuision, (as of pray) (whatsoeuer our pretences are) of that last, and least portion of the Churches wealth. Now because the first ground of that plentiful allowance, which the Church had, was the religious consecrating of a portion of our goods to his seruice, who had reserved a part of our time meere relie to that end: and seeing our liberall dealing with God, was the best and most thankfull acknowledgment, of his bountifull and liberall dealing with vs, holy men did confesse, ( as well in the one as in the other ) that in mercy, they did receiue both their time and their riches from his hand: so that by a part ( and that small in comparison of what wee allot vnto other vses ) we confesse his absolute dominion, by whose fatherlie goodness, wee receiue the whole. Wherein through couetousnesse, or any other sinister occasion to bee defective, were to denie vnto God, that which belongs vnto him, seeing neuer any nation in the world did honour him, and not account it a speciall part of their dutie, to doe him honor with their verie goods. A part doubtlesse in christianitie of our Morall dutie, seeing for the sway riches carrie in  
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the world, and for that inclination which mens minds haue to cleaue fast vnto these things, wee are naturallie more apt, to honor our riches as God, then to honour as wee ought God with our riches. So that vnlesse this tribute (as it were) daylie put vs in minde whose subiects we bee, wee are apt to make our selues Kings, and the world to bee our owne free, and independant inheritance. Now seeing what wee offer vnto God, serueth vs well for the perpetuities of religion, (which cannot possiblie continue without a conuenient allowance for such as are necessarilie to bee employed in the Ministerie thereof) as it doth to expresse our thankfull acknowledgement, of his mercie from whence wee receiue all that wee haue, in all ages both the gift hath beene refused, and the giuers reprobued, whensoever the coldnesse and want of deuotion in the people, made their oblations to bee sparing, and little worth: for there ought to be some proportion, both betwixt him whom wee desire and hope that he will accept our oblations, as likewise betwixt the principallest end, and the things themselves: wherein whatsoever either our error or defect bee, the burden of that euill, must in the end fall vpon our owne heads. In which respect, euen the heathen themselves: thought it vnmeet, to offer that vnto God, which was *impure*, or *unsound*, or already giuen, or else not truly their owne to bestow.

Purū, probū,  
prophanū, suū  
self. lib. 14.

Now concerning the vse of those riches, whether in moueables, or lands, which out of mens deuotions were consecrated to holy ends, their bestowing is not for God; who hath no neede of any thing that is ours, seeing *the earth is the Lords, and all that therein is*; but because it is our good and aduantage to bee exercised with donations of that kinde, & he accepteth them to no other end, but to haue them employed to the endles continuāce of religion it selfe. So y<sup>e</sup> inexcusable is the sacriledge of those men, who robbing the Church, seeke by that pollicie to overthrow religion; and their opinion is not altogether sound, who think no more fit to bee the possession of the church, then may serue by a false proportion of theirs; to make a naked,

Psal. 24. 1.



and bare allowance to some inferiour, *worthlesse men* of the Clergie; to whom notwithstanding whilst needfitie & want of due prouision inforceth them to beg their maintenance from the Layetie, they vnproportionably commit the greatest & weightiest authorities in the church, wholly or principally, to be ruled by them; as if naturall and politick wise men did not think that they might iustly challenge an ouerwaying of their Counsells, whose verie living, food, & rayment, must be deducted out of their coffers; to whome they will be content, so long to be beneficall and liberall, as nothing by the Clergie, either in doctrin, or discipline, shalbee performed contrary to the liking of these men. So that the complaint of the pride & authoritie in church-men, is onely from hence, not that in deede their riches are too great, but that the maintenance which they haue allotted from antiquitie, (and happely by good lawes confirmed vnto them) is a free, and absolute right, and possession, no wayes depending vpon the courtisie and fauour of laye men; who for the most part expect obedience, and seruice, where they are voluntarily content, to afford allowance. Men seldome being willing to be reprooued by those men, whose condition is absolutely, to depend vpon their maintenance. This being the ordinarie effect of liberalitie in this kinde, becsides that patrons to the Clergie may grow poore, & that all men at the length become wearie to be *continuell giuers*. Seeing then we can haue no exemption from publishing of that gospel, without a *woe*; by which the earth hath men vertuous, and the heauen glorious, and that without maintenance all the fathers are of opinion, it is lawfull to substract our labour, and that this maintenance can neither bee conuenient nor perpetual; if it be *Almes*; wisdom hath found it out, (which our Fathers beefore vs haue practised) that it was not (thought a great honor to those that did it) enough onely to build churches, & to furnish them with rich ornaments, (not so much to further deuotion as to bee a treasure for what want soeuer the church might haue) as also because these moucables, were subiect to casualtie, to provide that  
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the church might haue for perpetuities, a large indowment of inheritance, in lands: so that seeing wee goe not a warfare vpon our owne expence, nor plant not those vineyards wherof wee are, or can be debarred to eate the fruit; nor feed not those flocks, whose milk ought not to bee our food; and seeing all that wee doe, is accompanied with a hope, which seldome faileth to aunswere the sowing, & the reaping of other men; It were a thing vnreasonable, and vnholiest, to crie so much for either learning, or paines, extraordinary in the Clergie, vntill first we had in all parts of the land, sufficiently provided for the maintaining of them.

For doubtlesse seeing their function deserueth honor, (which seldome amongst men is performed what worth soeuer bee in the persons where their abilities are small) (this beeing the common fault of our corruption to think a want of desert whersoever there is a want of reward) It is fit that the maintenance for all (though not for all alike) were such, that the reuerent and estimation which many desire, & ouergreedely hunt after, <sup>a</sup> *Cato* might not aske but the common wealth should bestow it vpon him for his vertuous merit without sute. And doubtlesse without conuenient liuing, vertue shall want honor, and contempt must needs follow wher that is wanting. <sup>b</sup> For howsoever the best preachers ought to shun it, to auoide pride, yet they are willing to be honored, that they may be followed; and though wee preach not to receiue reward, or recompence, which wee ought to bee willing, if wee were able to doe without others; <sup>c</sup> yet wee receiue recompence, and reward, that wee may preach. Neither in this doe wee demaund, what nature and reason can deny vnto vs; for the *labourer is worthy of his hyer*. Now seeing the Clergie ought to haue a fit maintenance, and that some cause, there was in all ages, why besides sundry other more rare Donations of vncertaine rate, the tenth should be thought a reuenew so natural to be allotted out vnto Gods; let vs consider a litle without offence both the conueniencie of this proportion, and what some Reformers displeased with the

Honores quos  
expetunt mul-  
ti *Cato* petere  
non debuit  
sed eos ciuitas  
ob eius virtu-  
tem non petenti  
dare. *Aust. lib.*  
*5. de ciui Dei.*  
<sup>b</sup> *Prædicatores*  
*boni & honorē*  
*propter elatio-*  
*nem fugiunt*  
*& honorari ta-*  
*men propter*  
*imitationem*  
*volunt. Greg.*  
*in moral.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Verus predi-*  
*cator nō ideo*  
*hic predicare*  
*debet vt in hoc*  
*tempore mer-*  
*cedem recipiat*  
*sed ideo debet*  
*mercedem re-*  
*cipere vt pre-*  
*dicare suffici-*  
*at, Greg.*

Nescio quid  
habet fordidi  
singulorum  
agros æstimare  
Trauers, in  
discip. Eccl.  
fol. 95. 96.

name of *Tyibes*, (a thing in their opinion Iewish and Cerimoniall) haue in stead thereof offered by way of aduise vnto the church, as a conuenient meanes of allowance for her. Where seeing maintenance for the Clergie is all that wee stand for, wee hope their indifferencie cannot but graunt vs this fauour, that it may arise out of that proportion, and in that manner as. all antiquitie before vs, haue thought fit, vntill they shall finde out some other meanes whereby the allowance may be certaine and much better.

Gen. 14. 20.

And herein though wee make not the practice of *Abraham*, who gaue the tithes of what hee had taken in war vnto *Melchisedech*, to bee a rule of an absolute necessitie to all men, that any way are increased, and shall liue now, yet seeing it was then done by him, who it is like knew better, what was fit then wee doe, and peradventure was to bee an example to the faithfull, as well in this as in other things: (who therefore amongst other reasons are called the sonnes of *Abraham*) and at that time, when the cerimoniall law was not commaunded with so great strictnesse, it may bee a better warrant for the children of the Church to provide for her allowance by example, then to hazard, such new inuentions of our owne, as beeing reiect- ed in this respect onelie that they are new, wherein they are subiect to much preiudice, are not altogether so like to afford vnto the Church a maintenance either of that indifferencie, or continuance as tithes doe. For doubtlesse euen these, would bee much diminished, and detain'd if antiquitie, and custome, did not tell vs, that were fit which lawes and ordinations commaund to bee done by vs, wherein to refuse what hath bene the practice of former times, (onelie because it was proportionable to that age) is ouer well to esteeme of our selues, and rather to hazard an opinion of singularity, then to bee thought wise. Besids if *Jacobs* vowe, at such time, as hee tooke his Iorney towards *Haran* was, that if God will bee with mee, and will keepe me in this voyage, which I am to goe, and will giue me bread to eate, and clothes to put on, so that I may returne, so my fathers house in safetie, then shall the Lord bee my God, and

Gen. 28. 18.

and this Stone which I haue set up as a Piller, the same shall bee Gods house, and of all thou shalt giue mee, I will giue vnto thee, the tithes: be a rule not onely of prescription, but an example of warrant (what ought and is fit to bee done by vs in the like case. Doubtlesse wee are no sooner to think of Gods protection and his blessing of our increase, but withall to think of the furtherance of his worship, and that not the least effectuall to this end, is our iust and liberall paying of our tithes. Wherein if vowes, be but a more speciall obligation of our dutie, in those things which religion generallie doth require at our hands, it must needs seeme equall and iust, (both for others who are free in the like case for to vow the like) and for those who already by lawes stand bound to the same duties, to performe them sincerelie and with much truth. Now this which nature taught, vnto the heathen themselues, making tenne that portion which they paid for deuine tribute, the law after by *Moses* imposing equally vpon all (euen by this meanes the poorest among them yeelded equallie the same proportion as the greatest did) in affection peradventure much more. It was to them an vndoubted assurance that in Gods sight, from whom all good is expected concerning acceptation, and protection, they were all one: and that this thus bestowed was not lost, but that the remainder was sanctified by this meanes, and that God receiving a part, vndertaketh to blesse all.

And doubtlesse if we were as vertuously inclined, either to depend vpon God for new blessings or humbly to giue thanks for those we haue already receiued (as sometimes the Iewes were) wee must needs account our tithes, a hedge and a wall to the rest wee possesse besides. For these being truly brought into the storehouse, that there may be meate in my house, proue if I will not (saith God) open vnto you the windowes of heauen, and poure downe vpon you, an vnumerable blessing. So that although the Church bee now free from the law of *Moses*, yet because nature hath taught men to honour God withall that they possesse, and the scripture hath left vs an example of

V.ij.

that

Diuitiarum  
sepes decimas  
R. Aquila in  
pirk. Aboth.  
Malach. 3.

that particuler proportion, which for Morall considerati-  
ons hath ben thought fittest by him that could best iudge;  
and seeing the Church hath entred into the like obligati-  
on long since; it must needs bee a question altogether su-  
perfluous, to dispute whether tithes bee a matter of diuine  
right. For doubtlesse that which lawfully ( whilst it was  
ours) wee might retaine, now being once by our own con-  
sent (for that which our fathers did, the law accounteth to  
bee our act) alienated from our selues, wee can no more  
warrantable retaine backe, then *Ananias* the price of  
those possessions, whereof voluntarie hee made sale for  
the Apostles vse: for they no sooner by alienation passe  
from vs, but the proprietie being altered, God for euer af-  
ter, doth account them and reckon them to bee his owne.  
Whose tribute either to diminish, or to wash and to clip  
that coyne, wherupon God hath placed his owne marke,  
must in the end proue heauie, and shalbe punished as the  
robbing of God himselfe.

And therefore least any man should challenge a pro-  
prietie, by any interest in these things, the lawes doe ac-  
count them the possessions of none.<sup>a</sup> The vertuous consi-  
deration whereof, made those princes memorable and fa-  
mous, which tooke vpon them inuiolable to defend the  
Churches right; whereas the bold prophanation in others,  
puld downe the wals of their kingdome,<sup>b</sup> and their hands  
were ouer weake to rule those scepters committed to them,  
because before they were vnhalloved and poluted, by  
presumptuouslie aduenturing for to robbe the Church.  
Wherein the resistance of some inferiours in this case, were  
of a little merit, if nature had not taught all men to abhor  
Sacriledge. For this alone ouerturneth *Kingdomes*, when  
souldiers are made rich by the churches spoiles; And these  
for the most part as a wise man noteth, suffer both the  
miserie of beggers and the infamie of robbers; seeing then  
the indowment of our church, for the continuall supplye  
and reward of the Clergie, ariseth from some lands, but  
principally from Tythes, and these well and conuenient-  
ly allotted, by former Kings, to giue maintenance both to

Colledgea

<sup>a</sup>Nullius autē  
res sacre & re-  
ligioſe & ſacte  
quod enim di-  
uini iuris eſt id  
nullius in bo-  
nis eſt Iuſtini.  
lib. 2. Tit. 1.  
<sup>b</sup> Nouimus  
multa regna &  
regeseorum  
propterea ceci-  
diſſe quia Ec-  
cleſias ſpolia-  
uerūt reſque  
earū vāſtaue-  
runt, alienaue-  
rūt, vel dirupu-  
erūt Epiſcopiſ-  
que & ſacerdo-  
tib<sup>a</sup> atq; quod  
maius eſt Ec-  
cleſijs eorū ab-  
ſtulerūt & pug-  
nantib<sup>a</sup> de-  
derūt. Verba.  
Caroli Magni.  
<sup>c</sup> Hook lib. 5.  
pag. 249.

Colledges, which may breed deuines, as to Cathedrall Churches, where deuines after their paines may well rest, (both places beeing the rich storehouses of learned men seruiceable to the Church for many vses ) it cannot bee but an intention of ouermuch enuie, and violence, to seeke inconsideratlie an alteration, and impouerishing of these honourable allowances for these places, by which in the end all feruent studie of deuinitie in the best dispositions must needs perish, so that if men had as much freedom to alter, and diminish the living of the Church, as of other persons, yet no man can think it safe, nor possible for a Ministrie to continue learned in that kingdome long, when other professions grow rich, and the reuenues of the Church faile. *Tithes* then beeing a dutie wherevnto all men are now bound, both by law of nature, deuine positieue, and a vertuous voluntarie obligation to the Church, wee can see no great reason in the refusers of them, why they shoud either altogether bee kept back, or else bee alienated to other ends. For where the law of nature requireth a sufficient maintenance for the Minister, the law positieue being a determination of the former, alloweth the tenth to bee the best proportion, wheerein if this bee remembred, that the maintenance bee sufficient, we doubt not but the prince may determine the tenth, or the fift, or any other number, to bee the measure. Yet surelie stronger reasons, and of more equalitie in all ages, haue beene found, for the tenth, then for any other number besides, that tenne being the perfection of all number, and this dutie (as it were ) a quit rent to him that is the author of all perfection, as it is, or hath beene moderatlie conuenient to maintaine those, whom hee imployeth in that businesse, so most fitly, it is answerable to his owne perfection. And if the bond of allowance arise from the benefit which wee receiue at their hands, whom Gods ordination for our good, imployeth in that kind, it must needs follow, that the tenth vnder the law, being the proportion which the Clergie had, there is small reason why now, (their seruice being more honorable and the benefits

more

Math. 9.

more singular) their maintenance and allowance should be made lesse. In all things surely, this being the rule of our sauiour Christ, *that our righteousness should exceed theirs*: so that though Christians now be all freed from the burthen of ceremoniall precepts; yet from oblations, and tenths, they are not.

Maiores nostri  
adeo copijs  
omnib<sup>9</sup> abundabant  
quia deo decimas  
dabant & Caesar  
sari censum  
reddebant modo  
autem quia  
discessit deuotio  
dei accessit  
indictio fisci:  
nolumus partiri  
cum Deo decimas  
modo autem totum  
tollitur. Aug.  
Homel. 48. ex  
lib. 50. Homel.  
• Error fratri  
cellorum. Ioh.  
de Turre cre-  
mat. lib. 4.  
pact. 2. cap. 37.  
Summa.

And whereas in *S. Austins* time, some part of *Africa*, were not accustomed to pay Tithes, hee exhorteth them to this dutie, from the consideration of those blessings which came vpon their labours, whilst they were not slack in these, which once beginning to faile, they found by experience, that they lost all. A dutie as tribute vnto Kings, not onely to bee paid there where the Prince is vertuous, but also (with as much conscience) where they are not: for duties belonging vnto callings, are not dispensable for the vnworthinesse of the persons: seeing Gods ordinations, must not be altered without his warrant: neither are these therefore to bee retained or diminished, because the abilities of some persons, is able to liue without them (which hath beene the heresie of some men) but being the recompence of their charge, & labour, to those that are appointed, (whether poore or rich) they are due vnto both alike.

Whereunto though we leane not either so strögly (as some *Canonists*) to make ten, an absolute necessitie of the maintenance for the Clergie; or so weakely to make Tithes (as some doe) either *Almes*, or *Ceremoniall*; yet we thinke, as a mainetenance for the Ministerie is necessarie, so the Tithes are the fittest, from whence this maintenance may arise vnto them; which being in many places either small, or otherwise imploied, so that a conuenient allowance can not arise from thence, to maintaine the Clergie, some other meanes must bee thought of, by those whom it may concerne fitlie, and without iniurie, to supplie that want.

And if Counsell to that purpose may seeme needefull, this Church (God bee thanked) is not destitute of men in both the Vniuersities and else where, indued with ripe iudgement, whensoever any such thing shall bee thought necessarie, who as their care is originally the greatest, for  
the



the continuall supply of a learned Ministrie (the rest without them for the most part being but troublers of the Churches peace) it shall be a consideration (if so it may stand with his maiesties most Royall, vertuous, & Princelie wisdom) in all reason fittest to be thought of by their care. For which end at this present, to propose any speciall inuentions of my owne, might argue in a man of my place and calling, more presumption perhaps then wit. But seeing there are some who though they can be content, that the Clergie should haue a maintenance, yet think notwithstanding, that the tenth is no fit proportion, because the reason for the *Leuites* and our Clergie is far different, they being the twelfth or the thirteenth part of the people, ours not the hundredth, it is fit though all men see that this proportion is to many but a meane living, to giue some reason to satisfie these men, why with equall conuenience, the tenth is a number, as proportionable to vs, as it was to the *Leuites* in the old time. To omit then, what some of the schoolmen write, that the Clergie are to *maintaine the poore*, which are without number, (a burden now wee are not vnwilling, but vnable to beare) yet wee answere further, first that the *Leuites* were not the thirteenth part of the *Iewes*, and ours the hundred, for the *Hebrewes* are numbred, (without *Leuites*) from twenty yeeres olde vpwards, *Six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fiftie men* fit to goe to warre, (children and olde men not reckoned) all which being added to the former, it may be thought likelie, that the number might arise to a million and three hundred thousand. Now the *Leuites*, all from the infant to the old men, were but two & twentie thousand, so that adding these to the rest, and deuiding the whole by two and twentie thousand, the parts deuided are threescore: Which was much about that proportion which the *Leuites* were, in respect of the other peoples, which number peraduenture some thinke, when all religious places did stand (as now in other countries) was not any great difference, from the proportionate number betwixt the Clergie and the Laitie at this day.

Caia. in 12.  
quest. 87.

Numb. 1. 46.

Numb. 3. 36.

But this is not the whole reason, for seeing the christian Clergie, are liable to greater labour, and more cost, then the tribe of Leuie amongst the Iewes, then but one Temple, one high Priest, and a few priests, of the house of *Aaron*, which in their course serued in the Temple (the rest being allotted to inferiour vses) whereas now the temples are innumerable to bee maintained, from the Church, many Bishops, and prelates, whose places are more needfull to the benefit of religion, then the inferiour Clergie, many Ministers, and learned deuins, whose labour, and expences are infinit to gaine knowledge, and afterward they serue not by turns, but continuallie attend vnto their charge, where it is fit they should liue able to maintaine hospitalitie, in a bountifull manner (which is not so much for their owne families as for the entertainment of strangers) (the former being *House keeping* the latter *Hospitalitie*) wherevnto if wee add, that manie are free, from tithes, and that tenthes and other payments, are a part of the Clergies cost, wee see no great reason, but as a maintenance is fit for the Clergie now, so this proportion of tenne, (if it bee not too little) is as agreeable to vs, as it was to the Leuites in old time. Neither doe we heereby bring vnto all parishes, that superfluous charge, (which they of the new discipline doe) as first besides in euerie parish a Pastor or two, there must bee a Doctor at the least, manie Elders, (two and twentie some say) (though *Geneua* haue but twelue) certaine Deacons, a colledge of widowes, and all these (as they say) must bee found, by the parish charge. Now what were conuenient seuerallie to bee allowed vnto their maintenance, (though wee cannot finde, an Vnitie in their diuersitie of opinions) yet for the Pastor they are cleare two hundred pound ycerlie, in chieffer places more; and in none lesse then two hundred marks, this with the rest amounting to so great a summe, and all from the maintenance of the Church, which yet experience telleth vs is scarce able to maintaine one learned diuine in euerie parish) we demaund (without offence at their hands) from whence they can hope or imagin, such

Surusy pag.  
217.

M. Beza. contr.  
Eraft. lib. script  
T. C. lib. 1. pag.  
187.

The humble  
motion,

main.

maintenance to arise, to bee the strength and the sinewes of their new discipline: but because in this to follow any other coniectures then their owne words, were perhaps to wrong them, (which willingly we would not) it shall not bee amisse to consider that aduice, which they haue giuen, how for the expence of all this, in their wisdomes, the maintenance of the Church, may bee made sufficient.

First one saith (if it were but the act of one as commonly in this case they pretend number) *If no other way may be found then haue the Bishops, and Cathedrall Churches, Tem-*

The 2 Admo-  
nit. pag 12.

*poralries enough, to redeeme those liuings, that be impropria-*

*ted; other counsel the same author giueth, which haue bene all answered; another saith the same which the Lord B.B. and the Cathedral Churches doe possesse, if it be taken in time,*

The humble  
motion. pag.  
40.

*bee fore it be to much scambled, how well would it serue, to re-*

*deeme Improprations, and augment the smaller things, & with the ouerplus to serue to other good vses for his Maiesties wars,*

*and increase of learyngs; and a litle after, (as if his counsell were worthie twise to be repeated) he addeth the same: nay he wisheth all to be taken from the Bishops: Yet still they*

*must remaine to the Ministerie, and the common wealth:*

Pag. 97.

*onely to change the order, and manner of the applying, that whereas before they serued to uphold a Lordly pompe, Idlenes,*

*and brauerie in some few, they might now by a wise, & godly distribution bee communicated vnto many, for the benefit of many Churches: and if Bishops linings be to litle, a free bene-*

Pag. 98. Lin. 3.

*uolence, and as it were an offering of all sorts of people, young and old, through this land, ought to bee. Heereunto I might*

Pag. 103.

*ad the counsell which others giue, all tending to this end, that whatsoeuer the church hath, and is not bestowed ac-*

*cording to the fancie of these men, should presently be altered, and vndoubtedly by many degrees lamentably, be*

*employed to worse vse. It pleased that wisdom and Ma-*

*iestie which then ruled ouer vs, to discerne the cruell pur-*

*pose of these men, & to hold it vn safe to aduenture a worse maintenance for the clergie, by a worse meanes. And sure-*

*ly wee doubt not, but his great vnderstanding, to whome God for our happinesse, hath committed the gouernment*

of the church and the common wealth, whose dayes wee desire may continue, as the dayes of heauen, will thoroughly vnderstand, that a maintenance thus procured, can bring lide aduantage vnto Gods church, when by this meanes colledges, Bishops, or cathedrall churches, are puld downe. For if the fountaines be dried vp, a generall thirst, must be the disease of our whole land. If the clergie want gouernours, better to be without maintenance, then without order. And last of all if recompence be taken away, wherewith the clergie maintained, may take rest, not ease, for the time to come, benefiting the church peradventure in another manner, lamentable experience must needs tell vs, that in short space, the number of diuines wilbe very few. In tymes past there was in euery citie a Colledge of Ministers, ouer whome the Bishop bare rule, the which Saint Hierons termeth the Senat of the Church, and with vs it is called a Collegiat, or Cathedrall church: wherein for the most part (for wee cannot excuse all) after their labour in the vniuersitie, in the Kings house, in Bishops pallaces, in their painefull imployment, either by writing or teaching in other places, are plentifully maintained (as it is most fit) the best, the wisest, and the most learned of the clergie in this land, which not onely (as that most reuerend Archbishop worthy of all honor sometimes said) in respect of their

*soumnesse in religion, profoundnesse in learning, diligence in preaching: but wisdom also, experience, and dexteritie in gouerning, are not onely a singuler ornament to the Realme, profitable to the church, as honor to the prince, but also a stay fro barbarisme, a bridle to sects and heresies, and a bulwark against confusion.* From whence I doubt not (next vnto those two famous nourishing places of learning the Vniuersities) but when our kingdome shall haue cause to send to the greatest counsell, that the church shall haue, men of wisest moderation, best liues, and deepest iudgements, that these places, shalbe able to furnish them, with much honor: so therefore as it is a bold presumption in those men, who (without degrees) for some commendable paines in preaching, think it merit enough, to aduance them to that honor, so

the

My L. his grace  
of Cant. in the  
defence of the  
answere to the  
Admonit. pag  
747.

the sacrilegious impieitie of those is without excuse, who wish & desire all places of that nature, to be pulled downe, or their reuenues to bee altered to some other vse: make them (O Lord) and their Princes like *Oreb* and *Zeb*, yea all their princes like *Zeba*, and *Zalmana*, which haue said, *Psal. 82. 11. 12* let vs take the houses of God in possession: O my God *13.* make them lyke vnto a wheel, & as the stubble before the winde. To conclude then this point, as wee hartely wish the Ministerie of *England* to be learned, so wee hope the wisdom & vertue of those whome it doth concerne, without iniurie of any person, state, or condition wil in due time, think of conuenient allowance for them: and this not by selling, or changing, of any thing to a stock of money, (which was the manner of the maintenance in the primitive Church) seeing wee are taught by experience, that things of that nature are vncertaine, and are not so likely to carrie to those that come after a perpetuities with them, it may bee that if any age were so prophane, or authority were carried away with the violence of these spirits, by the wounds of the Church, to cure the *Wants* of some few, and meane persons (a thing God bee thanked not much to bee feared in this religious and vnderstanding age vnder the gouernment of so vertuous and so wise a King) the Church paradiuention might keepe a *Festiuall day* of *solemnitie, plentie, and all aboundance*, for some few yeeres, and for ever after, *Lament her desolation and ruin, in want, Penurie, Ignorance, and Contempt*, vnto the worlds end. And whereas the ages before vs gaue this deserved honor to some few, *These were those holie and religious men that did build vs Temples, Colledges, Cathedrall Churches, and gaue ample reuenues vnto them all, for the continuall supply, of a learned Ministerie*, our posterity in the vnfortunat times, of fasting and mourning, after so vnhalloved a feast, and so prophane a surfet, should haue cause to bemoane their losse, and lament the times, where vnto they were reserved, cursing these sacrilegious Reformers, that haue spoild the Churches, the riches whereof being put to saile, haue serued but to satisie the covetous pollicie of some few, &

Urban<sup>us</sup> prim<sup>us</sup>  
epist. ad omnes  
Episcopos.

those neither of much worth, nor for long time) it will be a most vertuous consideration wherein his Maiestie shall giue perfection to the happie beginnings of our late *Queen Elizabeth*, (the nursing mother of our Church whose memorie shalbe sacred to all posterities) by prouiding that the allowance for the Clergie may be good, & conuenient and that those onelie bee suffered to enter into, and to execute that function, who haue learned themselves, and will teach others, in thankfull obedience, to be gouerned by those whom reason and religion haue placed ouer them, the other course must needs breed confusion, contempt of authoritie, needlesse discontentments, indiscreet reprehensions, ignorant teachers, and the disorder of all states, whereas the wisdom, and counsell of those, who are already aduanced in our Church, conspiring with so learned, and so wise a King shall fill his land full of good subiects; his Vniuersities full of good schollers; all Churches ( in time ) with excellent Deuines, and in one word our whole land, with men of singuler worthinesse in all professions.

## CHAP.





## CHAP. XII.

*Of Non Residencie, Pluralities, and  
Dispensations.*



WE cannot but commend the religious disposition of those men, if their intentions be as good, as their care doubtlesse seemeth to bee great, who awaking that *Idle Ministerie*, which in their opinion sleepeth in our church, cal all men to a necessarie consideration of those duties, which beelong vnto them: which either *ease*, or other imployments, might peradventure, cause them to forget. *Negligence* which in other cases, runneth not either into that hazard, or can be likeliest to bee the originall of so great daungers, being in the calling of the Clergie, ouer that flock, wherof the holy ghost hath made them ouerseers, the verie downefall (so far as mans reason is able to discerne) into an euerlasting woe; both vnto themselues, & vnto those soules, which are committed to their care. So that the same spirit, which in other cases, and at other times, vttereth those comfortable promises, of the greatest loue, beegetting in man, by his blessed working, an assured hope of an endlesse mercie, heapeveth vpon him in this kinde, and for this sinne, euen vpon those,



Es. 56. 10. 11.

Zachar. 11. 17.

Ezech. 34. 2.

Marh. 15. 14.

Act. 20. 28.

Act. 20. 2.

Ezech. 33.

3. Sam. 7. 19.

those, who about others he hath honored with these titles, to bee watchmen, *Shepheards*, and the *leaders* of Christs flock, the names of blinde watchmen, dumb doggs, which can neither haue enough, Idle *Shepheards*, that leaue their flocks: the sword shalbe vpon his right arme, and vpon his right eye: mee vnto the *shepheards* which feed themselves, should not the *shepherd* feede the flock? they bee the blinde leaders of the blinde, imposing this dutie vpon all, to take heede vnto themselves and to all the flock whereof the holie Ghost hath made them ouerseers to feed the Church of God which hee hath purchased with his owne blood, so that Teachers being those *Shepheards*, whose flocks cannot at any time be without daunger, those *Watchmen* whom the most malicious enemie, doth alway beseege, those labourers in that *Harrowest*, which neither can haue end or *Intermission* in this life, those *living Oracles* of God, to whom men must resort in all doubts, those *Spiritual* fathers, which must bee alwaies readie in *private conference* to admonish, to reprove, to Exhort, to Instruct, to Comfort, as well as to teach in publicke, it cannot bee but an intollerable, inexcusable fault in those men, whose care is onely to be rich by the multitude of *Cures*, whose absence, and negligence is all one with ignorance and want of abilitie to teach, sauing that the sinne is greater in them, who are able with learning (if they were diligent) greatlie to benefit Gods Church. And doubtlesse it is to bee feared, (vnlesse their *Consciences* bee without feeling) that this secure, negligence in them, is but like a heauie *Lethargy*, which commends them as it were by certaine steps, to a dangerous and eternal sleepe: so that as all the fathers of former ages, haue filled their writings, with eloquent inuectiues against these men, and all the *Conncels* almost haue sharplie decreed against them, the *Canonists* likewise and *Scholemen*, haue concluded their offences to bee great finnes, and their drouisie negligence without excuse, couetously rather heaping vp the liuing of manie, then conscionably performing the dutie of any one: wee can with as much patience and thanks bee content to heare, the loud declamations

clamations against *non Residents, and Pluralities*, by some in our Church, onelie if it please them to remember, their owne vsuall absence, lesse warranted; and to looke with what sinceritie of *Conscience and Zeale*, vnto Christs flock, they haue vndertaken, the *Vehement*, continually, loud, and intemperate reprehension of these faults, as if they onelie in our Church, had a tender care of the peoples instruction and none else, and that all besides them, (some few conscionable Ministers who can bee content with one flock) were nothing but a number of proud ambitious, and idle Prelates, like that vnprofitable fig-tree, Luk. 13. 7. serving to little vse sauing onelie to bee cut downe; or that these were that euill and slothfull seruant, which must be cast into vtter darknesse, where shallbee weeping and Math. 25. 30. gnashing of teeth. And further which ought least of all to bee indured by any well affected to the credit and Nichols in the estimation of this Church, which doubtlesse for *Reformation* is, & shall be famous through all parts of the christian world, plea pag. 212. *that our state* did vnreasonablie & vnconscionably by their owne lawes, graunt *Dispensations*, both for pluralities, and absence, onelie to further the corrupt desires of some few, Lin. 23. to the infinit wrong of the whole Clergie, besides the hazard of many thousand soules, the intollerable dishonour of Gods truth, and the exceeding disadvantage of Christs Church. Ezech. 34. 2.

Doubtlesse we cannot but confesse, that learning is of little vse in the Ministerie, vnlesse they bee faithfull to discharge that dutie: and that *abilitie* to teach, bringeth small profit, where care and indeuour are both wanting, to further that good which our place exacteth: wee neither doe, nor can stop our eares, against the whole booke of God, which requireth *labour* at our hands, and *diligence* in our Ministerie; neither doe we think, that all places alike, may challenge our paines, seeing it is in this, as in all other things besides, which are through *private interest*, dearer then that which concerneth either others wholie, or vs but in part, & at our owne pleasure: or if in dutie, onely according to the rate of a *Generall regard*. Yet I hope these men,

Y

will

M. Hooker. lib.  
5. pag. 251.

will giue vs leaue to tel them without offence that the *non Residencia & Pluralities* warranted by the positive lawes of this land, are neither of them, so cleerely conuicted as incurring the penaltie of so high displeasure, but that indifferent minds may finde peradventure good reason as yet to defend them both: which if neither wee much attempt, nor bee thought sufficiently performed by vs, we are preuented (as they know) by the most learned, and reuerend in deauours of other men, and are not greatly willing, that either *Idlenesse*, or *Ambition*, should couer it selfe vnder that shadow in a great number, which is in a true iintention, a *Priniledge* and *Dispensation*, the lawfull and vertuous merit, of some few.

But because it seemeth that the originall of this errour, is from the not iustlie considering, either what Benefices are, or the first limitation of them (wherof whilst some are ignorant they rigorously conclude, all duties required in a Minister, necessarily to be performed in one particular parish,) we must put them in minde, that either *Euaristus Bishop in the sea of Rome*, or as some others say *Dionysius*, first assigned the *Precincts* to euery parish, and appointed to each Presbiter, a certaine compasse, whereof himselfe should take charge alone; & in this kingdome, one *Honorius* sometime Archbishop of Canterburie, did first deuide them, so that from hence, was vnderstoode by the name of a Benefice, *A pastorall cure of soules, ouer the people of some parish*, whereas formerly it signified some standing Ecclesiasticall reuenue, taken out of the treasure of God, and allotted to a spirituall person to the end hee may vse the same, and inioy it as his owne for tearme of life, vnlesse his default cause depriuation. And wee know that the Clergie for manie yeeres after Christ, had no other Benefices, but onely their *Canonically portions*, or *monethlie Diuidends*, allowed vnto them according to their seuerall degrees, and qualities, out of the common stock of such gifts, oblations, and *Tithes*, as the seruor of christian pietie did then yeeld. In the Apostles time Churches were onelic in the cities, in regard whereof those that

Anno. 112.  
Gloss. in verbo  
aut in elect.  
cap. nec Numer.  
10. q. 3.  
Anno. 636.  
Camden.

lived

liued in villages, beeing without instruction, were called *Pagans*, which after by the example of others, both intertaining and giuing allowance, for the maintenance of the same truth, those to whom principall care was committed in this kind, appointed meaner men of lesse learning, and lower qualitie, to vndertake the instruction of those places, who were desirous and willing, to yeelde after the example of others; oblations and tithes for maintenance of those, that were placed ouer them. Now to say that either seuerall parishes thus distinguished, might by no permission bee allotted to the care and instruction of one man, or that it were not lawfull for any reason, how beneficiall soeuer to Gods Church to bee absent from that particuler care committed to him, were in the former to denie all better trust, and reward to men of more worth and greater abilities and desert: and in the latter to bee ouer *Tirannous* in considering, and allowing the cause of absence, and peradventure in a true construction, ouer rigorouslie seuer in both. But seeing all men know which we doubt not but our aduersaries in this cause wil confesse that this limitation of particuler parishes was meerlie positieue, and the inuentions of men, thought, and found better, for the better performance of the Clergies dutie, it cannot bee the absolute transgression of a deuine ordination in that sence, as if either to haue moe parishes then one, or from one to be absent at somtime, were a direct, & vnexcusable breach of the morall law. For the duties commanded not to bee done in them, are by no meanes (not for a moment) euer allowed to be done at all: which thraldome if in seueritie they bring vpon Gods church, let them take heede what dangers they fall into themselues, & that by this meanes, the church receiue not a greater harme, whilst peradventure in this case, their remedie is worse, then the disease is. Now to allow absence vpon reason, without appointing those causes, and such as must iudge which are reasonable, were to make all men to think that they had reason that were willing: neither is there any great force from the nature of *Relatiues*, (if that were all)

This the Lords  
did for which  
they were al-  
lowed to bee  
patrons.

This M Rogers  
Martir wished  
Anno. 1554.  
Act. & Monu.  
fol 1491.

M. Hooper and  
he wisht they  
might haue. 10

Chore Piscopi  
villarū Episco-  
pi. Damas,  
epist. 3.

Concit. Neo-  
cesar, cau. 13. &  
Antioch, cau 8

Some of these  
being Suffra-  
ganes did or-  
daine Presbi-  
ters. Concil.  
Antio, cau. 10

Reasons alled-  
ged in the Ab-  
stract, out of  
the Extraga-  
uants.

By D. Cosen.

why one may not as well haue diuers parishes, as one pa-  
rish haue diuers Pastors. And howsoeuer wee hold not  
the reason good, that beecaufe *Tymothie*, & *Titus* had ma-  
nie congregations committed to their charge, therefore  
others may: yet the reason in their opinion, from this ex-  
ample ought not to want strength, who think a Bishop,  
and a Minister is all one. In this first distribution for the  
best discharge of their calling, and the greatest benefit to  
the church of Christ, if some vnder the Bishops & aboue  
their bretheren, which had moe and more distant parishes  
then any in our church, & all termed by one name though  
some were *Suffraganes* to Bishops, it ought not to seeme  
a matter of vnreasonable fauour, and vnlawfull, to commit  
seuerall churches, to the instruction and gouernment of  
some men, whose learning, discretion, & care, is more emi-  
nent, and that these may whilst their labours are vsed for  
the benefit of Christs flock, lawfully bee absent, and haue  
inferiour men of the Clergie for a tyme to supply, and to  
execute their roomes: so that doubtlesse a zeale in these  
reprouers did carrie them to far, when alledging those ex-  
trauagant reasons against Pluralities, they yeeld them, to  
tend to couetousnesse, that one man had the stipend of many,  
that they make non Residents, that it maintaines Ambition,  
that it is the occasion of a gadding and roaguing ministerie,  
no small cause why others want, and lastly a taking away of  
that recompence, which belongs to others, these reasons in  
their opinion of some force, (howsoeuer they haue alrea-  
die bene profoundly answered with much iudgement) yet  
beecaufe they still please themselves, in the rehearfall of  
them, we can bee content both with patience to giue them  
hearing, and withall to hope for this fauour at their hands,  
that they will yeeld thus much to vs, that many things may  
occasionally bee the accidentall procurers of much euill,  
which are originally no causes, nor iustly can suffer a re-  
proofoe as vnlawfull things. Neither are these onely the  
occasions of the euills which they lay vpon them, seeing  
either all, or most are commonly to bee found amongst  
the, who notwithstanding would seeme to be furthest from  
this

this sin. But seeing whatsoever in our Church is practised in either of these two (*Pluralities or non Residencia*) is not the corruption of some private man, but (the approbation and allowance of the Court of Parliament, wherein whatsoever is established, all men in the eye and construction of the law, are thought and deemed to have consented, we cannot but thinke it vnreasonable and vnreuerend for these men, to disanull or make question, of an *Act* of their owne making; and withall wee hope it both hath and shall appeare, to the world, that as it is not lawfull without dispensation to haue, or to doe either, so that authoritie to dispence in both, is most agreeable to reason, and Gods truth. For seeing the disposition and limitation of private parishes, extendeth no further, but to be the wise, *Positive inuention*, and ordination of those, who formerlie haue gouerned in Gods Ghurch, and that all humane lawes, are dispensable by supream authoritie (a dispensation being but the relaxation of a common right, made vpon knowledge of the cause by him that hath right to dispence) wee hope that likewise these may, and that the lawes forbidding *non Residencia* & *Pluralities* are in force still, notwithstanding by Priuiledge, some particulers are, and are fit to bee exempted from the common right. Doubtlesse neuer meere human law, was either made with that wisdom, or was in execution of so necessarie vse, but that sometimes, it was fitter to receiue Dispensation, then to stand in force; for seeing the best lawes of men are but the euidences of *Humane reason*, which wee finde by experience groweth from a weakenesse to bee more strong, and from imperfection to bee more absolute; wee cannot in reason (without inthralling our selues in too great a bondage) deny *Abrogation*, and *Dispensation* to humane lawes, which are not to bee like those of the *Medes* and *Persians* that might not be changed. For though reason, from whence lawes of this kind haue their originall, be but that voice of nature, which neuer changeth, concerning generals, yet lawes shall follow reason, reason follow nature, (both immutably) and nature euer the same, and yet lawes

Dispensatio  
est iuris commu-  
nis relaxatio  
facta cum causa  
cognitione ab  
eo qui ius ha-  
bet dispensandi.  
Dispensare est  
diuersa pensa-  
re, which they  
doe not who  
disallow all  
dispensations.  
Lex humana  
qua vis iusta  
sit commutari  
tame pro tem-  
pore iuste po-  
test. Ault. lib.  
1. de liber arb.

Aquinas. 2a.  
qu 97. 2a. 1.  
fol. 1.



concerning particulars, shall change often.

But if any man thinke, that Priuiledges and Dispensations, either are to bee graunted often, or when they are graunted vpon iust cause are contrarie to common right, doubtlesse hee erreth in both; for the first, surelie we owe that reuerence to those that haue beene before vs, that it is an iniurie to them, and for our selues ridiculous, to alter ouer easilie the lawes, which antiquitie hath commended to vs. Yet if aduantage apparantlie, and without question redound vnto that societie, whose benefit is principally intended in those lawes, wee haue as little cause, to wish them perpetuall, as otherwise to dispence or to breake them when there is not; for in abrogating ofould, or establishing of new, the commoditie ought to be euident, which must warrant vs to depart from that which long custome hath found to bee right: for seeing to the obseruation of all lawes, *Custome* hath not the least force to procure obedience, whatsoeuer is deprived of this strength, is seldome regarded with so much care, so for the second either neuer to dispence, or not then, when the measure of the common good, shalbee euidentlie proportioned to a priuate case, is to make lawes for to want life, and those which were in the first intendiment a benefit to all, to make them a captious *Tirannie* to some, and those neither of worst, nor of least merit: which as ouer easely to graunt in some Princes, could not but bee iniurious to the publike state, so in others ouer rigorously to denie, (hauing princelie wisdom to discerne a particular worthinesse in a common right) could but bee, that vnwarranted seueritie, which surely in the end, would doe great hurt.

Seeing then all humane lawes, are onely the conclusions of the law of nature, such as reason hath fitted for the benefit of some societie, either the church, or the common wealth, and that all these are and euer must be subiect to dispensation, and priueledge, from those that haue supream authoritie, and that (as wee think) limitation of *Cures*, either for many, or attendance vpon some one,

Ridiculum est  
& satis abomi-  
nabile dedecus  
vt traditiones  
quas antiqui-  
tus a patribus  
accipimus in-  
fringi patimur  
Decret. dist. 12  
ca. ridiculū est  
Euident debet  
esse utilitas vt  
restare cedatur  
ab eo iure  
quod diuini-  
quum visum  
est. Aquin. 12 q.  
97. Art. 2.



is meerlie a law positieue, wee hope, that what the vehemencie of some mens zeale accounteth a great offence, reason and deuinitie, will warrant to bee no sinne. For seeing as well in the Church as the common wealth, honors and rewards are to bee giuen, not by an Arithmetically, but a Geometricall proportion, and that honour and maintenance for the Clergie being from the law of God, *Benefices* and *Cures* are by the law positieue, surelie it cannot well bee denied, but that how much of either shall bee giuen to this, or that particuler person, must be in the Prince to dispose onely; now because lawes haue alreadie set downe how much may or ought to be graunted to any one man, and what *Residence* and attendance hee ought to performe there if more then this, (for the good of the Church) by Priuiledge and Dispensation ouer and besides (not *Contrarie* or against the common right) be graunted to some one, can wee think it vnwarrantable and to bee a fault? *Dispensations* for *Pluralistes* haue bene in all times; and the necessitie and vtilitie of the Church are confessed by themselves to bee the onely iust causes, to make them lawfull; neither doth our Church require other allowance at their hands, then that in these cases it would please them to think, and to write, that the dispensations which are giuen, are not contrarie, and repugnant to common right. If any think or speake otherwise, in cases dispensable, it is their error; for it is the voice of *Equitie*, & *Iustice*, that a generall Law doth neuer derogate from a speciall Priuiledge: and that a Priuiledge is not opposit, vnto the principles of common right; because it dispenseth with that, which common right doth prohibit, for in the one it is respected by way of generalitie, in the other beset with limited and speciall circumstances, so that in the eie of law, and reason, they seeme to bee the same, though they bee not, wherein because men often times (as one noteth) waigh things stripped of some particuler circumstances, which add waight vnto them, they waigh them vneuenlie, and thereupon oftentimes pronounce that to bee to light, which is not in truth, if they

Abstract. pag.  
128.

they had skill to waigh it. Now seeing the absence of all *Priuiledges Non Residencie and Pluralities*, is in the intendement of the law for the aduantage of the Church, whether it be by parties aboade in the Vniuersitie, to get more learning, or attendance in the families of noble men, in Princes Courts; or Cathedrall Churches: it ought not to seeme vnreasonable, that some part of the reuenues of the Church is allotted to their vse, who though yet in person they bring not that benefit to some particular flock, which in time they may, yet the Church at their hands shall receiue no losse: for if the whole riches of the Church were a stock of monie (as some Deacons peradventure desire it might bee) it can bee in reason no greater fault to giue maintenance now from some parish to some one absent for a time, and in that absence profitable to the Church, then in their diuision to giue that allowance, which seldome they bestow for so good desert. Yet whatsoeuer vnder pretence of Priuledge is practised by any, for to wrong the Church, in a true construction, is neither defended by vs at this time, nor fit to be suffered in admitting (as I think it is not) often meane persons, to haue the benefit either of *Non Residencie* or *Pluralities*, which were in the first intendement, onely for men of better degree, of more worth, and of some speciall imployment in some other kind, for the singuler benefit and aduantage of the Church of Christ.

Which as wee cannot excuse, if it bee graunted with ouer much facilitie to all those, whom either idlenesse shall make absent, or couetousnesse make them desire *Pluralities*, so wee are not as yet of their opinion, who think all dispensation, and priuledge in this kinde, to bee against law, or if not, yet both the law, and the priuledge to be against truth. Wee desire them without offence, who vrge so strictly the lawes of our land for both these, to consider this, which is not altogether impertinent to this cause: that if a strict law were made for a citie, that were beeseaged, that no man vpon any occasion might open the gates of the same citie, (whereby the keeping of them shut, was intended

tended to be for the good and safetie of the whole citie,) now if afterward some of the armie be without the gates, who vnlesse they be receiued in, neither they, nor the citie can remaine in safetie, shall wee think the verie meaning of the law, is that the gates should not bee opened to receiue them, which is the very end of that law which forbād it to bee done, and the law of nature? it cannot but bee a seueritie in those, that denie it, which must needes in the other be excusable, furthering that end, for which the law was made. In all lawes as in all actiōs the end is the *mark*; and this commonly is the publick good, of that societie, for *pum.* which the law is made, now if the same publick end, whereat the church aymeth, in prohibiting either *Pluralities*, or *non Residencie*, may be procured best by graunting dispensation, for both these, to some particuler men, wee hold the law in forbidding, intendeth so much, and therefore in this case, to dispense is not to breake the law of common right, but rightly to apply it to his proper and peculiar vse: wherein captiously to cleaue ouer strictly to the letter of it, is rather to vnderstand lawes by the words, then the intents of them: which practise if wee shall vse, in those lawes which had the best author, and doubtlesse was able to set them best downe, wee *shall Iewishly keepe a Sabbath*, in abstayning from all things, by the vertue of that law, which commandeth thou shalt doe no manner of *work*; & fall into the heresie of some, who held it vnlawfull vpon any occasion to sweare, beecause our sauour sayd, *thou shalt not sweare at all*: and yet in both whilst wee cleaue vnto the letter, vtterly dissent from that which the law requireth.

Now so farre as lawes are Positiue, and meere ly humane, it is in the power of their makers, to dispense with them, by vertue whereof whatsoeuer is done, is not contrarie to the precept, because for the doing hee hath the superiors warrant; which if wee allow not in Gods lawes, many things must bee sinne, which doubtlesse were none. Heerein if these men can proue that that which man dispenseth withall God doth not, we will be content to heare them, and must needes graunt, that they *haue not the au-*

*Zanch in de  
cat. lib. 1. cap.  
10. pag. 180.*

*Ocar<sup>a</sup> ad sco-*

*Intelligentia  
distortu ex cau-  
sa est assumēda  
quia non ser-  
moni res sed  
rei debet esse  
sermo sub-  
iectis.  
Hilar. in lib. 4.  
de Trinit. 14.*

*Waldenses &  
some of the  
Cathari.  
Alph. de Castr  
lib. 8. Hæref.  
Iuramentum,  
Math. 5.*

*Quod sit au-  
thoritate su-  
perioris non  
fit contra pre-  
ceptum.*

*thoritie of the superiour, and that such Dispensations are without warrant.* But wee are and shall bee euer readie by the grace of him vpon whose mercie wee relie in all that wee doe, to iustifie and maintaine, the religious practise of our late Soueraigne in this, against those who are willing vnthankfully, vnnaturallie, and irreligiouſlie, to deprave and traduce her most vertuous, blessed, & happy gouernment: For seeing that Dispensations are some meere of grace, wherein the Prince may lawfully respect one about another, as in *Legitimations, Pardoning of heynous faults,* and such like, in which for the dispensed, or the dispenser, there is no other necessitie, either in the court of man, or the court of conscience, sauing onely grace; because (it is to be thought the people and the lawes of euery countrie in these Arg. L. Scio. ff. *deminoribus,* and other such matters, haue yeelded this power vnto their Soueraigne Princes, euen where they cannot by prerogative as with vs challenge so much right) wee doubt not, but their assertion is, to manacle the Kings hands, and to binde them in these chaines of their owne making, who teach the world that *Lawes* must haue that force, that all Dispensations, are vnlawfull, and transgressions of them. Now touching other dispensations which are called of iustice, they are conuersant either about the law of God and nature, or about the positieue law of man, in the first there is no dispensation from man, yet interpretations are allowed, to show that the generallitie of the words, do not indeede extend to some speciall cases, and that of those things which strong and manifest arguments teach vs that God himselfe would not haue included, in the generalitie of his law, *Interpretation, Declaration, and Limitation,* may bee made, and this by the lawyers is called one kinde of dispensation of iustice, whereby the bond of the law is not released, but the law is interpreted in such case, not to haue force, according to the true meaing of it. Now in the other dispensations of Iustice, which are bestowed about the positieue lawes of man, we must obserue two things, first that the law remaining, yet the reason in some particuler case doth cease, which ought by the prince, or the inferour

inferiour Iudge, in dispensing to bee so declared: the second is when the law is grounded vpon diuers reasons, whereof some ceasing, and some continuing, the law is notwithstanding in force, vnlesse a dispensation of Iustice, bee graunted to vs. There are also besides these dispensations mixt partlie of grace and partlie of Iustice, because that he graunteth it, it is grace & fauour, & yet it is Iustice, because he granteth it to none but vpon iust cause; so that when a King dispenseth with any positiue law of man, the law teacheth vs to intend and presume both, that there is a cause why hee should so doe, and that the same cause is iust and sufficient, and doubtlesse hee that receiueth such dispensation sinneth not against the law, nor his own conscience, because hee is by the same authoritie deliuered from the bond of that law, by the which hee stood bound.

So that if the Church ought to honour learned personages, not onely in word, but indeed, as in providing more liberallie to help, and releue them, by the Church reuenues, then for others not so learned, (because learning doth not onelie profit the owner, but the Vniuersall Church) and that causes of absence from their seuerall Cures, may bee such as shalbe beneficiall to the Church and iust, as for recouerie of *Health, if called by his Superiours authoritie; if for repulsing of greivous Injuries, if sent upon ambassage, or to giue attendance, if his help bee required for pacifying of Scismes* in other places, if his paines bee necessarie for the confirming of the doctrine of the Church either by speaking or writing; if his presence be necessarie for consultation about Church matters at some *Synode* particuler, *provinciall, Nationall, or generall*, if some other parts of the Church were in more need, and whollie destitute of a Pastor; or for any other such cause allowed by those whom the lawes haue trusted with the examination of these things, shall wee that are inferiours out of enuie towards other mens respect and grace, (the due merit of their worthinesse) whereof wee are far short, make the world beleue, that the great *Sinne of Non Residencie, hath three goodliuundersetters, which are also broad*

Panormit. in C. de multa extr. de Preb. vlt. notab. Aunswere to the Abstaact, pag. 230.

My L. his grace of Cant. in the defence of the answere to the Admo. Tract, cap. 1. diuif. 1. pag. 236. D. Bridges, pag. 488.

Nichol. in the plea pag. 210. Lin. 14.

*fage leaues, to couer the nakednesse of these learned men, whereby many are upholden in their sinne, first rewardes of learning, secondlie the power of the State to order the liuing of the Church, thirdlie that so they preach they are not to bee charged although they Preach not in their owne parish, and make this onelie the originall of the ignorance of the whole land, whom to reprove (say they) was to bee accounted a conuentickler, a Puritan, an enemy to the state: could any thing in the eares of wisemen, haue sounded more sharplie, or bee vttered more vnreuerentlie, against that mother that hath giuen them suck, against those men who haue bene the fathers of our faith, through the whole land, against that Prince whose blessed gouernment, procured them and many thousands peace, which peace made them something (if they bee any thing) could I say, any words bee vttered with more follie, and lesse truth?*

We hope that neither they themselues nor the world will beleue, that the church of England, so happily reformed, so mercifully blest, so wisely gouerned, so sufficiently supplied, so honorably esteemed, both at home, and abroad, either doth, or will maintaine and defend, the sinnes of *non Residencie*, and idle absence, or couetous heaping vp of many things vnconscionably, and without desert; seeing they are faults controwled, & forbidden by so many good lawes of the realme, and the vertuous constitutions and Canons of our church; wherein if they vnderstand (as they ought) what a cure is, what Residencie is required; what absence tollerated by the law of God: *when and how long*: what rewardes of learning are due in the church to men of better qualitie: what disposition of these things resteth in the power of the prince: what vnion, or limitation of parishes is meereley positiue: what dispensations are conscionable and agreeing to Gods law: what priuiledges are the right application, and not the violent breach of the lawes. Lastly what is fit, and what is holden, in our Church, (for things forbidden, neither doe we nor doth our church defend) we are & wilbe readie, to giue them the right hand of fellowship, in the reproofe of these sins, which we doubt

not

Pag. 221.

Pag 35.

Canon Resi-  
dentia. 1571.  
& 1597.

not may be daungerous, to the soules of many. But if they, desirous to outrunne vs in an vnlearned zeale, teach the world, that all *absence* is vnlawfull: that diuision of parishes are from diuine right: and so one onely for one *Pastor*; that princes cannot Dispencc: that the inioying of these, is Couetousnes, Idlenesse, *Theft*, and the ground of all ignorance: then wee must tell them (which wee haue proued already) that these reprouers themselues are not onely Idle, but also *pratlers*, and *busie bodies*, speaking things which *1. Tim. 5. 13.* are not comely; and that our conclusion is this, that all dispensations for non Residencie and Pluralities, are not against law, nor that law that giueth dispensations against consciences; and that neither all giuing, or taking of them is so great a fault, as it pleaseth some men, to make the world beleeue that they both are.

Z.iiij.

CHAP.







## CHAP. XIII.

*Of Publike Praier and of the defects supposed  
to bee in the Liturgie of the Church  
of England.*

1. Tim. 4. 8.



Four praieres were onely the performance of our owne dutie, and not a Religious act, whereby our mindes beeing lift vp to heauen, euen all graces both Spirituall & Temporall discend vpon our heads, *Godlinesse hauing the promise both of this life and the life to come* ) it might bee paradiuenture

of some doubt, whether they were any part of our religious seruice, or onely the pollitick inuention of the church, to breed a superstitious opinion in the simple people, of that almightie power, whom because they see not, *Atheisme* laboureth to perswade that they need not feare. But seing the intercourse betwixt heauen and earth to vs in Doctrin, from vs in praier, is the assured euidence of that mercifull loue, which desireth to make vs conquerours in the day of victorie, it must needes bee (if assistance doe want to obtaine this ) the onely fault of man himselfe not to aske, seeing the promise is past, and sealed, that *whatsoever yee aske the father, in my name, hee will giue it you.*

Ioh. 16. 23.

*you.* Which if euer wee finde not come to passe, (measuring things by our weaknesse which is not alwaies able to discerne what mercie denieth and iustice graunteth) after our *Asking* wee must *Seeke*, if that faile crie aloude, and with *Importunitie knock*, not doubting of his promise, *ye shall receiue, yee shall finde, it shall bee opened vnto you.* Luk. 11. 9.

Thus wee sanctifie in this Principall *Act* of our Religion, and offer vnto the *Trinitie*, the three especiall parts of our bodie, as an acceptable sacrifice, correcting our tongues, beeing commaunded because God some time seemeth not to heare to *aske*, erecting our harts and because God seemeth to bee lost, bidding vs *Seeke*, directing our hands, and because God (as it were) sometimes shutteth the dore against vs, willing vs to *Knock*, in the first our praiers doe awake him, who seemeth to sleepe as *Elias* said of *Baall*, (but hee that keepeth Israell shall neither slumber nor sleepe.) In the second to deale as our *Saviour whom Ioseph and Marie* thought to be lost, whilst hee tarried to doe the will of his father.

In the third like the Pharisies, who shut the kingdome of Heauen, least any man should enter, but hee saith as the Psalmist, *Lift up your heades O yee gates, and bee yee lift up* Psal. 14. 9.  
*ye euerlasting dores, and the King of glory shall come in;* and not onely hee himselve, but all the righteous: for this is Psal. 118.  
*the gate of the Lord, and the Righteous shall enter into it,* so that then euery faithfull man performing this dutie as he ought, may say with *Dauid*, *I will thanke thee, for thou hast heard mee, and art become my saluation;* for the promise is without exception, *Euerie one that asketh receiueth, he that* Luk. 11. 10.  
*seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall bee opened.* So that though Wine bee strong, though Women bee likewise strong, though the King bee strong, and aboue all things the truth bee strong; yet doubtlesse the Praier of the Righteous (especiallie if it bee feruent) is stronger then all these. The Earth is strong which supporteth all this great waight of creatures and sinne; and is so made by the mouth of truth, that it neuer should moue at any time; yet the Praier of *Moses & Aaron*, was so strong and so powerful

Psa. 114. 5.

Gen. 3.

Exod. 32. 10.

Gen. 32. 26.

erfull that shee deuided her selfe, and rent a sunder, like the vaile of the Temple, and opened her mouth, like the great Whale to swallow vp *Dathan*, and the congregation of *Abiram*. The Sea is strong, which supporteth the burden of all this (for thou hast founded it vpon the floods) but the praier of *Moses* made it to flie, that *Israell* might passe on drie land; *What aild thee thou sea, that thou fleddest, and thou Iorden that thou wast drinen backe? Surely Iuda* was his sanctuarie, and *Israell* his dominion, and his seruant *Moses* praied for their safetie, and the Sea answered, as *Adam*, *I heard thy voice, and I was affraied*. Like effects euen weakenesse hath had, from the strength of Praier, ouer the Fire, the Aire, and the Sunne: But why doe I speake of these, seeing the Almighty seemeth to be bound by our praiers? that hee asketh leaue of *Moses*, *Let mee alone that my wrath may wax hot against them*: To whom the humble suppliant, hauing fastned his praiers, as with a chaine to the throne of mercie, may answere confidentlie with out presumption, as *Iacob* to the *Angell*, *I will not let thee goe except thou blesse mee*. Yet let not our importunitie exclude humilitie, but that still wee pray (as if the smallest grasshopper vpon earth (a worne and no man) were to speake with feare, and reuerence, before the maiestie of God himselfe. Seeing then praier is that name, which expresseth all that seruice, that our religion can performe, beeing the best meanes both to testifie our dutifull affection, and most effectually to obtaine, what soeuer wee wanting can desire at Gods hands; seeing it is the easiest and most comfortable almes, which all men haue power to giue, and no man to refuse, seeing it is that office from performance whereof, neither time, nor place (violent circumstances in other things) are able to hinder vs, seeing it is and ought to be the first dutie, wherewith a religious soule, beginneth his life, and the last wherewith hee endeth it, seeing it is the seruice of all Saints, aswell those that Triumph in heauen, as that are Militant on earth (the one praising God for their glorie, the other praying for their victorie) and seeing amongst all praiers those

those are most powerfull, and effectuell, which hauing the seruour of manie, and the promise of presence, are rather powred out in the Temple then our priuate chambers; for in a congregation a house of praiers, there may bee amongst manie, some *Moses*, or *Samuell*, which shall bee heard both for themselves and others (one righteous in the midst of a froward, and crooked generation) let from henceforth all impietie stop her mouth, which heeretofore hath blasphemed a holy ordination of so much vse, (thrusting it out of our Churches, vnder pretence of preaching) and that open prophanes by seueritie of lawes, bee taught obedience, which either in puritie, or superstition haue refused in our Temples, to offer vp their Praiers, as the rest doe.

Zwengfeldin

Brownists.

It is no small blessing, to haue the libertie of the sonnes of God, to enter into the house of the Lord, the house of prayer, the place where his Honour dwelleth (for in his temple doth euery man speake of his honour) yet we denie not but in the most desolate, and solitarie place, more voide of resort then the ransackt sanctuarie of *Hiernsalem*, in the vncomfortable vault that euer was entred, his eares shall bee open vnto our Praiers, that goe not out of fained lippes; but euen praier it selfe (as one noteth) when it hath not the comforts of many voices to strengthen it, is not it selfe.

Basil. Epist. 61

So that wheras secret neglect of our dutie in this kinde, is but onely our owne hurt, *one mans contempt* of the Common prayer of the Church of God, may bee (and often times is) preiudiciall, & hurtfull vnto many thousands: and doubtlesse in time of persecution, when wee are in exile, the principall griefe to any Christian soule must bee this, euen the vncomfortable absence from the house of God, that wee cannot praise God in the great Congregation, that euen in this respect, the Sparrow and the Swallow are in better case then wee are; That all our Melodie is buried in this one euill: for *how should wee sing the Lords song in a strange land?* For if there be in the Lords Sanctuary, in the Courts of the house of our God, the holy

Aa.

amongst

amongst vs, it ought surely to be our care (euen for praier) to resort thether, with ioy aboue all other places whatsoeuer: & ther to powre out our praiers, with that *solemnitie*, & *deuotion*, as those vertuous & humble requests, which the Church appointeth, the Saints vpon earth powre out, the almightie listeth to heare, & the *Angels attend* to further.

Now for the religious performance of this dutie, no wise man can doubt, but that *solemnitie* of place, is a circumstance neither indifferent, nor of small force: the authoritie of their calling, whome the Church imployeth to offer vp the praiers for the whole people, is no small assurance of obtaining, what is presented by their meanes: in whom if zeale and seruencie of spirit concur, with a vertuous lyfe, they are no small aduantages to make the rest of the multitude to bee more holy, and to teach all the people of God, both what reuerence they owe vnto such, whom God vouchsafeth to bee mediators betwixt him and them, and with what deuotion and reuerence, they are to esteeme and frequent, those holy places, for the performance of those duties, which out of all circumstances rightly are termed by the Church, *holy* and *denine Service*. Heerevnto if wee ad the strongest motiue vnto a minde sober and humble, that these prayers are not the voluntarie, suddaine, & extemporal supplications of one man, who (though *zealous* and *honest*) yet may easily faile in asking what is behoueful for the whole Church (for *wee know not how to pray* as wee ought) but that they are those holy sacrifices of our lippes, made and allowed by the considerate deliberation of men vertuous, and duely proportioned with the sacred, and solempne *Lyturgies* of the Church in all ages: he must needs think the iniurie offered by some men, to bee vn sufferable, who esteeme all corners equall to the church for this vse, all persons as conuenient as those who are elected and appointed to this end, and sencelesse *offusions* of idle, reiterated, vnhalloved, indigested prayers, as auailable in the eares of God, as the best either places, persons, or order, that the Church hath. This beeing the dangerous pollicie of sathan, to frustrate the Church of  
so

Rom. 8, 26.

so great a benefit: and because no man durst bee so impious as absolutely to condemne publick prayer, to stir vp those who should draw the people, both by example and precept to a contempt of that forme, which taken from the puritie of all times, is worthely thought by the Church, a *Lyturgie most reformed, whereby, wee must serue God*; and doubtlesse not to lay vpon them a greater burden, then the weight of this sinne doth necessarilie impose vpon the consciences of such, who are and haue bene, the authors of this contempt, wee cannot easily be perswaded otherwise; But what prophanes hath crept into our church, what vnhalloving of the *Sabboth*, what want of reuerence in diuine Service, what loathing of praiers without *Sermons*: in one word what *Athisme, or Hippocresie* is in al states in this kingdome, hath (originally) proceeded frō this fountain, the bould and vnhalloved *despising* of the *Communion Booke*; whilst in the meane time, they haue offred vnto the Parliament in the dayes of our late *Soneraigne, a Booke of the forme of Common prayers*, of which, wee dare not (as yet) giue that testimonie, which *truth* compelleth them to giue of ours; *That grosse errors & manifest impieties is taken from it.* T.C.lib.1.

Anno. 17. Eliz.

But seeing all of vs agree in this, that a *Prescript forme* pag. 131. of praier is conuenient and necessarie for the Church (they onely permitting a greater libertie, for vs then wee doe) both because it bringeth much aduantage to haue the people familiar with those praiers, which concerne all; and that they may not say *Amen*, to any thing that is vnfound (a thing iustlie to bee feared whilst men haue no better direction but the sodaine motion (as they call it) of the spirit, and lastlie because vniformitie in this worship, is best besitting, them whose doctrine and religion is all one, wee cannot but both meruaile at them who deuise continuallie new formes of praier, in their publicke service, iniuriousslie depraue in sundry points, that *Liturgie*, which in the iudgements of moderate, and wise men, is both least different from antiquitie, and withall most absolute for perfection, of any that is vsed in the Churches reformed at this day, and how soeuer it lieth not in the power

of any one Prince to prescribe an *Uniformitie* of worship, ouer all Christendome ( a thing happie to be praised for that the whole Visible Church in doctrine and Cerimonies as it hath but one faith, one Lord, so it had but one hart, and one mouth: yet doubtlesse in the limits of the same kingdome, it is possible, easie and verie necessarie, that the manner of diuine *Service* bee preciselie one. For seeing wise men before vs, feeling those harmes which wee feare haue euer accounted ( which the common people doe now) a new *Liturgie* to bee a new religion, ( the forme of worship beeing diuers though the doctrine bee the same ) and therefore euer prohibited all new manner of assemblies, it ought not to seeme strange, if our maiestrates heeretofore haue forbidden all *Conuenticles*, ( and such are all those who assemble to worship God after a manner not allowed by the lawe of the land) or that in this they haue dealt either rigorously, or against law, for as one saith to the *furtherance of religion, men may and ought to assemble together*, so long as it is not against that *Law, whereby vnlawfull societies* are forbidden; but when danger may arise from the hazard of a new worship ( by the example of him, that forbad all priuate *Sacrifices*, in priuate places ) wise men haue thought it not safe, for euerie man to take libertie to haue priuate *Chappells*.<sup>3</sup>

Conci. Lar. sub  
Inno. 3. cap. 13  
Concil. Lugil.  
a Grego. To.  
Concil. Carth.  
3. can. 23.

Martianus Iu-  
risconsul. in  
lib. 1. de Col-  
leg. Illic.

Novel. 58. ca 8  
si quid in sua  
domo.

Ne forte ali-  
quid contra fi-  
dem aut p mi-  
nus studiū sit  
cōpositū Con-  
cil. mileuit sub  
Inno. 1. can. 2.  
Leu. 17.

Deut. 12. 13.  
Magistri erro-  
ris existūt quia  
veritatis disci-  
puli nō fuerūt.  
Nemo priua-  
tim deos habet  
fit. Lex. 12. tab

The counsell before this hauing made this Canon, that all Clarkes which minister or baptise in priuate Chappels without the allowance of the Bishop, were to be depriued : the equitie of this for preuention of all new *Worship* being from that law, *Take heed that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in euery place that thou seest* : a facilitie in permission of which abuse hath filled the Church of God with *Contempt, Prophanation, and Confusion* of all worship: This being in Iustice the punishment of these men, that because they wanted *Modestie* to bee *Schollers of Truth*, they were filled with *Pride* to bee *Maisters of Error*. *Antiquitie* thought *Alcibiades* worthely condemned for this fault, that hee tooke vpon him the vse of those sacred mi-  
steries



steries in priuate, which the *Athenians* thought vnlawfully, thinking him by this meanes rather to vse coniuration, then to exercise Deuotion: the wisdome of all, ayming at this, that *Innovation in Religion*, was no way safe: and that libertie for priuate assemblies, to the contempt of publicke, was in all likelihoode a meanes to inuent, as manie sundry religions, as men had fancies.

And howsoever the number is not manie, which misliked all set formes of Praier, and their reasons not much stronger that refuse ours, and so consequently whether we take account of our aduersaries, in this cause, either by waight or number, there can be no great danger: yet for a further satisfaction to all such, whom either ignorance, or credulitie hath made our opposits, wee are willing first to let them vnderstand, what the *Liturgie* of the Church of England is, and then that in our opinion, there is nothing either superstitious, or vnfound contained in it. And howsoever sundrie times, by men of great learning (whom I presume not to mention without honor) this *Booke* heretofore hath ben strongly defended, against all her aduersaries, yet it shall not I hope, be offensiuie to any, to let the world vnderstand, that the greatest & most bitter reprehensions of this booke, haue ben stirred vp (through want of Charitie, misaplying some places) euen for matters of small waight; at what time the vertuous *King Edward* had restored this Church from the burden of those Ceremonies, wherewith shee lay grieuousslie oppressed, the care and consultation of the most learned and religious in that age, framed by authoritie *A publick order for prayer and the Sacraments to bee used in this Church.*

This continued not long (good things for the sins of the people being shewed vnto the world but they not suffred to enioy them) beefore the most religious in this kingdom, whom persecution pursued, and opportunitie gaue meanes to escape, beetooke themselves to the mercie of that Lord, whose truth they desired might bee kept inuiolate, and planted the Church in a strange land: for that fauour which they found as a comfortable refreshing in so

*Amil. pro Plutarch Thacid.*

*Seperatim nemo habesit deos neue no uos siue aduenas nisi publice ascitos priuatim colunto*  
12. Tabul.

*Sundry Martirs in Q. Mariess time. Diuers Bish. of our nation in Germ.*

*My L. his grace in def. of the answer to the Adm. M. Hook, lib. 5*

2. Sam. 2. 5. 6.

great a storme, wee and our posteritie shall say (for sauing the bodies of the liuing, as *David* to the men of *Iabib* *Gilead* for burying of the dead) *Blessed are ye of the Lord that ye haue shewed such kindnesse vnto your Lord Saul, that yee haue buried him, therefore now the Lord shew mercie and truth vnto you, and I will recompence you this benefite, because yee haue done this thing.*

1554 Iune. 72.

Knox &amp; others

Discourse of  
the trouble at  
Franckford,  
pag 28.  
Knox & Whit  
tingam.  
Discour. pa. 35

The first place of their aboade where they found fauour to plant an English Church was at *Francford*, where ioyned with the French and others they ouerhastely fell in loue with the orders and Liturgie of those Churches: which beecaufe the English at *Zurick*, and *Stransburge*, did not, but rather with wisdome and moderation (as they were) so desired to retaine the shape and the fashion of an English Church. Bitter contentions arise amongst them, onely for retaining or reiecting of the *Communion booke*; Those who came from *Geneua*, being desirous to rest vpon *Caluins* iudgement, who was in a manner, as the oracle of God to all Churches that were reformed, translated into latin the *Liturgie* of the Church of England, and sent it to him to haue his Censure of it. Neither did their description much differ, from that which is vsed at this day: wherevnto it pleased Maister *Caluin* to giue this answer; *In the Liturgie* (saith hee) *I see there were many tollerable foolish things; by these words I meane (a strange meaning) that there was not that puritie which was to be desired; these vices though they could not at the first day bee amended, yet seeing there was no manifest Impietie (mark it) they were for a season to be tollerated; Therefore it was lawfull to begin off such rudiments, or Abcedaries; but so that it beoned the learned Graue and Godly Ministers of Christ, to enterprise further and to set forth some thing more field from rust, and purer; If godly religion had florished till this day in England, there ought to haue bene a thing better corrected, and many things cleane taken away; now when these principles be ouerthrowne and a Church must bee set vp in an other place, where yee may freely make an oder againe, which shalbe apparent to bee most commodious to the vse & edification of the Church*

From Geneua  
Iun. 20. 1555.

*Church. &c.* We wil not take vpon vs to censure this letter, onely we see not how the same things could be thought in his iudgemēt *Foolish*, & yet tearmed *Tollerable in a Church Liturgie*, or how they are called vices, which notwithstanding hee freeth from manifest *Impietie*, or if that this libertie of reformation were to bee giuen where a Church was to bee new set vp, how it could bee agreeable to them who still I think desired, to bee a part euen for outward ceremonies, of that Visible Church, which then suffered persecution in England. But it sufficeth in these troubles all were not of one minde, the most and the best were before their departure and in their banishment, after their returne, *Zealous*, discreet and learned maintainers of the *Communion Booke*. And most of them afterward became worthily worthy gouernors in this Church. For God who sawe their *Fidelitie, constancie, and truth*, rewarded them *seauen fold into their bosome*, this booke then (but somewhat purer and more reformed then at that time) is that huge volume of *Ceremonies* (for I vse their owne words) which is in their opinion vnlawfull, & Idolatrous but in ours a *most holie, and chaste forme of Church Service*, and least in this case, our opinion and defence, should be thought but the corrupt flatterie of those, who are or hope to bee aduanced by the present time, the wise and graue approbation of the holie *Martire Doctor Tailour*, is fit by vs to bee alledged in this place. *There was* (saith hee) *set forth by the most innocent King Edward (for whom God bee praised euerlastingly) the whole Church service with great deliberation and the aduice of the best learned men of the Realme, and authorised by the whole Parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole Realme, which Booke, was neuer reformed but once and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion in euerie behalfe, that no christian conscience, can bee offended with any thing therein contained, I meane of the Booke reformed. Thus saire Doctor Tailour,* and shall wee now make light account of so honorable a Testimonie, or alter these things onelie to satisfie the vn-

D. Horn.  
D. Leuer.  
D. Humphry.  
D. Sands.  
D. Grindall,  
D. Cox.  
D. Scorie.  
D. Iewell.

In his conference betwixt him & B. Gardiner. Janu. 22. 1555. Aft & Monu. fo. 152r  
Note that this censure of D. Tailour martir was giuen in England within 2 dates of that censure which M. Caluin gaue at Geneva.

Vide Bucertum Cranmerum.  
Ridleum.

Vide librū nu-  
per impressum

Suetif. de mis-  
sa. pag. 146.  
This letter was  
sent Nouē. 28.  
and subscribed  
with 16 hands  
to them of  
Franckford.

Si per omnia  
precationum  
sanctorū verba  
discurras quā-  
tū existimo

reasonable fancies of some men? nay surelie in that most memorable Act, of our gracious and dread *Soueraigne*, (whose wisdom appeares in these Importunate suites, like the wisdom of *Salomon*) there is no one thing which shal heape more honourable and euerlasting glorie vnto his name, which is, or can bee a greater bleissing, to this land, a more religious dutie towards *God*, a more thankfull requittall of all the fauours that *Queene Elizabeth* did per-  
forme vnto him, then without any alteration or change in the strict commaundement of publishing this order of common praier, in any matter of substance. Let thy dew (O Lord) from aboue fall downe vpon his head to make him wise in the counsell of thy law, sanctifie his hart with the reuerend and holie estimation of thy truth, make his wisdom powerfull against all *Achitophells*; perfect (O Lord) and blesse these beginnings, that wee and our posteritie (without chaunge) may worship thee in this land, so long as the sonne is before thee; that it may neuer found in tents of our enemies, that thy worship (as erronious) is now altered which in mercie thou hast protested fourtie and foure yeeres in the happie daies of *Queene Elizabeth*. And surelie reason must needs tell vs, that if wee should ouer easilie yeeld to alter what parad-  
uenture they wish, doubtlesse the same reproofe, must iustlie fall vpon our own *Liturgie*, of *Varietie*, *uncertaintie* and *Inconstancie*, which one laith verie truelie vpon the *Romane Missall*. Besides it were as they of *Strausburge* wrote of them of *Franckford*, to condemne the chieffest authors therof who most of them suffered as *Martirs*, it would giue occasion to our aduersaries to accuse our doctrine of imperfection, and vs of mutabilitie, and the godlie to doubt in that truth, wherein beefore they were perswaded, and to hinder their comming hether which beefore they had purposed. Thus far did they of *Strausburg* wiselie answere to them of *Franckford*, so that wee may safelie conclude, and say of this Booke, as *S. Austin* doth in another case, *if thou runnest through all the words of the holie Praiers, I suppose thou shalt finde nothing which the*  
*Lords*

*Lords praier doth not containe and comprehend, therefore we may in other words speake the same things in our praier, but wee may not speake contrarie things.*

nihil inuenies  
quod non ista  
dominica con-  
tineat & con-  
cludat oratio,  
& c. Aust. epist  
13. ad probam  
viduam.

Yet because reason hath not beene sufficient to re-  
strain the intemperate proceedings of some men, & they  
thinke this Church is little beholding vnto them (vnlesse  
they traduce the gouernment and the Liturgie which she  
vseth) for which notwithstanding others out of greater  
wisedome and conscience haue made against the common  
aduersarie this challenge, *Looke if any Line bee blameable  
in our Seruice and take hold of your aduantage: I think M.  
Iewel will accept it for an Article, our Seruice is good and  
Godly, euery title grounded vpon holie Scriptures, and  
with what face doe you call it darknesse: Wee are content af-  
ter the learned indeauours of other men, to adde some  
thing to those principall points, which in the Communion  
booke is, and hath beene misliked by them, that to whose  
hands the writings of other peraduenture come not, this  
short answere to such, may giue some satisfaction in the  
principall things which they doe mislike.*

Deering a-  
gainst Hard. in  
a booke called  
a sparing re-  
straint, &c.

*I The forme of the Liturgie of the Church of England, is  
taken from Antichrist.*

Wee are sorie that their weakenesse taketh offence  
at that which wee hold as an honour, and a vertue in the  
Church of England; namely that wee haue so sparingly  
and as it were vnwillingly disented, from the Church of  
Rome (for surely by *Antichrist* they meane her) with whom  
if the corruptions of that Church would haue giuen vs  
leauē, we would haue willingly consented in their whole  
seruice: which being vn safe and vnlawfull, wee follow  
them notwithstanding in all, wherein they follow those ho-  
lie, and auncient fathers which first planted the truth a-  
mongst them; And as we acknowledge them our fathers  
in the Faith, so wee are willing euen to borrow that from  
them, which vertuously was vsed in that Church, when it  
was worthie to bee called our mother: and if now the ho-  
lie Citie bee become an harlot, yet we (as most Churches) *Es. 1. 2.*

Bb.

haue

Rom. I. 8.

Mil. in pla 67.

M. Bucer in a  
letter to Arch-  
bish. Cranmer.

haue receiued light from them, for there was a time, that their *Faith was published ouer all the world*, and if now they bee at enmitie with God, and vs, yet wee had rather follow the perfections of whom wee like not, then the defects and Imperfections of those wee loue, *nay the spoiles of the heauen taken from the Denill, are denided to the furniture and ornament of the Church of God.* For doubtlesse as one faith all true Godlie men may vertuouslie vse those rites, which wicked men haue abused, howsoeuer vngodlie.

2 *It is unlike the Reformed.*

In arg. in Epist  
ad Galat.  
Pauli res ipsas  
sequuntur plu-  
res nomina  
rerū plurimi  
magistrorum.

Consentimus  
in eo quod  
conuenit non  
in eo quod re-  
ceptum est.

If they meane *Genena*, we cannot but acknowledge both the great mercies of God toward them, and the singular benefit from them to the whole Church. But wherein wee differ as there may bee reasons in respect of place and people warrantable for both, and without offence, so if difference were a fault it may bee as well in them, not to follow vs, as in vs not to follow them, but the strife for preheminance of example, is a weake contention, whereas for *Antiquitie* there is no great difference; wee thanke God for them, and reuerence that truth which is taught amongst them, but it is (saith Maister Calvin) *a pestilent mischief, when wee will haue the manner of one Church to bee in place of an Vniuersall law.* And doubtlesse if we were as willing to giue them our reasons, why wee cannot conforme our selues to the orders of that Church, (as some amongst vs haue ben violentlie bold, for to vrge vs to it) suretie the world woulde thinck, wee had rather a desire to reprove them, then to amend our selues: an *Vniformitie* in all Churches were to bee wished, but it is not euer absolutelie necessary, wher the forme of the common wealth is not all one; in this case all being lawfull, that is best that is fittest for vs.

3 *The reading of Epistles and Gospels so ent and mangled.*

That we read them at all is that which they do mislike, but seeing men are easilie wearied in those duties, that are best, and *Prayer* making vs apt to fall into *Speculations*, concerning



concerning God both that our wearinesse may bee lesse, and our thoughts more sound, and more agreeable to the present businesse, those wise men that haue beene before vs, haue chosen lessons, for the Church, as also Epistles, and Gospells, futable to the present time and occasion, that as *Praier maketh* vs fitter to heare; so the hearing of Iust Martir. these, may make vs likewise fitter to pray. To read Scrip- 2. Apol. Tertul. in apol cap. 39. tures in the time of diuine *Service*, wee hope (being auncient and of such vse) their wisdome will not much mislike, and if the name of *Epistle and Gospell* doe offend, they cannot but know that the originall of this both for the name and the thing was from *Paul* himselfe, commaunding the same *Epistle*, which hee sent vnto the *Colossians* to bee read in the Church of the *Laoditians*. And Colof. 4. 16. of that to the *Theſſalonians* he saith, *I charge you in the Lord that this Epistle bee read vnto all the Brethren, the Saints.* From which custome the Church hauing appointed that portion of *Scripture* (which circumstances being weighed) is then fittest to be read vnto the people, as if it were directlie sent vnto them (thereby procuring their attention) is not vnfitlie tearmed by the name of *Epistle*, to these as *S. Chriſtoſtome* noteth, the Minister stood vp, and with a loud voice cried (let vs attend.) In one word the originall of this custome which so much offends them, hath better likelihood of warrant from the *Hebrewes* (then their *Synagogs*) seeing it was the custome amongst them, euerie *Sabboth* (which continueth yet in their *Synagogues*) that some thing is read out of *Moses* or the *Prophets*. And we hope the name of the Gospell shall not displease them, vnlesse they be offended with *Glad tidings*, and if to read onelie so much as fitteth with the present occasion, bee to cut and mangle, their wisdome can tell that diuision of *Chapters*, is not so auncient, that it may not bee altered, and their practise is vsuallie to read sometime, but a part of a chapter, sometimes two, as the matter it selfe hath dependance with it.

4. *It maintaineth an vpreaching Ministerie, by banishing preaching vnder the colour of long prayer.*

Bb.ij.

The

Iust Martir.  
2. Apol.  
Tertul. in apol  
cap. 39.

Colof. 4. 16.

1. Theſ. 5. 27.  
S. Auſt. in many places mentioneth this custome to be ancient and vsuall.

De ciuit. lib. 22  
Ser. 136.

Stat. minister, communis minister alta voce clamat attendamus, Chriſt.

Hom. 9. in cap 9. A. R.

Luk. 4.  
A. R. 13. 15. 17. 18.



To accuse vs of long prayer, will litle beeferme them, who are long and tedious. If we esteeme not of Sermons, as wee ought it is our fault; And doubtlesse if there had but bene that respect in them, which was in vs, to a thing of so great vse, surely many of their sermons, would bee shorter, and much better: wee are content that they shall extoll either them, or themselves, but withall let them remember, that the Church of God hath as much neede, sensibly and orderly to pray, as to heare a *Sermon*, wherein if it shall bee onely ouer-short, (beeing a dutie solemne and publick) the world will learne to think that we make litle account of that, wherevnto wee allow so litle tyme: words surely how few soeuer are then long and paraduerture tedious, when they benefit not the hearer, but whosoever speaketh much, and by much speaking doth much edifie, doubtlesse is vnderferuedly blamed for much speaking.

It is likely that they who labour for much time, to bee long in preaching, are of more singular abilitie then other men, or intend to trouble their hearers with impertinent discourses: or else that they cannot expresse in few words which *themselves beefore doe not rightly vnderstand*. But seeing the generall fault is, *that wee are swift to speake*, and had rather that the people should heare vs, then God himself, the time which wee think ouerlong for deuine seruice, is accounted ouershort for to vtter our own fancies: but such *Sermons* are farre lesse then prayers, to the Edification of Gods Church.

5 That wee praye (*without faith hauing no promise*) *that wee may euermore bee defended from all aduersitie.*

If either wee know some aduersitie against which wee may not lawfully praye, or that there bee some aduersitie which is not euill in it owne nature, or some euill that is not to bee shunned by vs, or what wee would shun that prayer is not a meanes for to escape it: if all these or any of these can bee proued, wee refuse not to forbear to aske; *That wee may bee defended from all aduersities*; But seeing that the same things which when they happen both wee

indure

M. Hook.

Nemo paucis  
explicat quod  
non recte in-  
telligit, Brasin  
prat. in Arnob  
in Psal.

The Collect  
on Trinitie  
Sunday,

Aliud est pete-  
re liberationē  
presentem ali-  
ud est petere  
liberationē male  
penae presentis

indure with patience, and God is able to turne them to our great advantage, yet because we neither know our strength (vnable of it selfe to ouercome the least tryall) and that God hath promised, *that no euill shall come nigh our dwelling*, wee pray *but deliuer vs from euill, that is, defend vs from all aduersitie*: to think we may pray for nothing for which wee haue not warrant in *Scripture* is paradiure an error.

*Psal. 91.  
Math. 6.*

6 Which for our vnworthinesse wee dare not aske, a note of *12 Sunday after Trinitie.*  
a seruile feare.

There is no vertue that better beecometh suters then humilitie, no humilitie better beecometh suters to God then the vnfaigned acknowledgement of our owne vnworthinesse, wherein if wee should rest, it were needlesse to aske, seeing there must bee a hope to receiue, as well as a sence of our want: so that whilst wee haue confidence to obtaine that in Christs name, which for our owne vnworthinesse wee dare not aske, wee rather expresse the louing humilitie of *Sonnes*, then the feare of seruants; but it is maruell how they can say, & think, *That there is nothing which in his name wee dare not aske, beeing needfull for vs, seeing they denye that it is vnlawfull to pray to bee deliuered from all aduersitie.*

*T. C.*

7 To bee deliuered from Lightning and Tempest (which *T. C. calleth Thundring*) when none is nigh.

Doubtlesse wee haue greater reason to feare, and so consequently to pray against these, then any other daunger of this life: It is the fearefull executioner of Gods wrath, manifested in the giuing of the law, to teach the transgressor, what hee must expect, wee want not examples; The Heathen knew it, dangers about the meanes of mans wisdom to preuent, are onely to bee escaped by praier.

*Si quorues ho-  
mines peccant*

8 The Singing *nunc Dimittis, Benedictus, Magnificat*, wee know not to what purpose.

You cannot but know to what purpose they were first made, and that the occasion of their first making, was the memorie of a benefit, not fit euer to bee forgotten: the Church in this performeth, and learneth a dutie by the

Bb.ij.

same

same reason we may not reade the Psalmes of David, velle we were in *Davids* case: In Scripture the sence is one, but the vse & application is diuers, & yet warrantable.

9 *The Letanie all Popish.*

Wee cannot doe our aduersaries a greater honour, then to make them the founders of these Praiers, Whether *Mamercus* or *Gregorie*, made them it skilleth not. The generall calamitie of the Church was the cause, and seeing the presumptuous iniquities of these times, may iustly cause vs feare what wee feele not, wee haue as much reason to pray to bee kept from them before they happen, as to haue them remoued when they doe happen.

10 *Gloria Patri and Athanasius creed to what vse?*

To giue honor to the *Trinitie*; for as they were made to teach the *Arrians* to confesse what they beleeued not, so they are for vs to praise & expresse what we doe beleue.

11 *To say after the Minister is a losse of time.*

That Scripture which commandeth the people to say *Amen*, doth not forbid them to say more: custome and example tell vs that this losse is: to the people an advantage, whose vniuersall consent exprest by their voices, is like the roaring of the waues against the sea banck.

12 *Baptisme by women commanded and allowed.* Nay rather forbidden, and the action not allowed, though the act be.

Wee are sorie if any inconsiderately and presumptuously doe it; but being done (wee hold a greater necessity of Baptisme) then that we dare thinke them, fit to be baptised againe. Heerein if there bee any fault, surely it is not a fault in the *Communion booke*.

13 *Private Communions to the sick.*

If the Minister and the sick person communicate, how can they call it priuate? for there bee not many, yet there are two: and where two or three are assembled as they ought, they need not doubt of the blessing of a Congregation: but seldome so few are, and things of that vse, in such extremitie desired, it is Tirrannie to denie them, for the not concurring of some solemne, and conuenient circumstance.

Iust. Martir  
2. Apol.

Basil. Haxame.

14 *Churching of women.* And that *Psalm* appointed. Psa. 117.

If that Childbirth bee a curse for the labour, and sorrow in it; because then (naturally) an enemy is borne to Gods kingdome: if many hardly escape those daungers, which fitly are called by vs *labour* and *travell*; how can we but thinke it convenient to giue thanks and in that to acknowledge the author of their safe deliuerance to bee the Lord, who protesteth his owne day & night: they looke not at any meanes vpon earth, but vnto the hills from whence commeth their help.

15 *Holidayes a superstitious honour to Saints.*

No, a memoriall of that benefit which the Church hath receiued by that particular occasion; which therefore it wanteth not warrant to appoint, as occasions of mercies, and deliuerances are new, so new solemnities: and therefore wee will euer say, *This is the day of the Lords* and sing Psa. 118.  
*praises vnto the Lord: the fift of August, and the foure & twentie of March: for in them the Lord hath done great things for vs alreadie, whereof wee reioyce.* 2. Kings. 7. 9.  
*Let the leprosie of those foure lepers cleane vnto vs, if wee hold our peace,*  
from *Psalmes*, and thanksgiuing, seeing it is a day of good Luk. 19.  
tydings: for surely as *Zachary* heard Christ speake, so God shall heare vs thankfully confesse, that this day *Saluation*  
*is come vnto this land: for he that is mightie hath magnified* Luk. 2.  
*him and holy is his name.*

16 *Reading of Homelies and Apocrypha.*

If they serue to edifie, why doe they refuse them, if they bee not Canonically, neither are they so esteemed. If nothing bee to bee read in the church but Scripture, why is it a law amongst them, to haue their orders for gouerning the church, reade publicly, once every quarter? the supposed errors in the *Apocrypha* maketh vs with the warrant of the Church, to refuse them; for Canonically Scripture to informe our faith: but the excellent precepts that are in them, make vs by the same warrant thinke them profitable, to bee read for to reforme our manners.

Discourse of  
the troubles  
pag. 133.

17 *The Ring in Marriage Superstitious.*

To finish an act of that solemnitie without some visible

ble and significant assurance, as it were no wisdom (seeing vowes were neuer thought so firme as when they receaued a strength from some outward action,) so many reasons are giuen, why this cerimonie is most fit, and lesse harmelesse, both betokening the affection of the hart, the linking them together vchangeablye, the continuance of their affection, without end, the puritie of that ordinance which is heauenlie, and last of all, an humble submission to the ordinance of that Church, which hath authoritie to appoint cerimonies, and hath appointed this as one most fitting to the grauitie of this action.

In Baptismo  
regeneramur  
ad vitam post  
Baptismū con-  
firmamur ad  
pugnā Euse-  
bii.

18 *Confirmation vnlawfull.*

What wee promise by others in our Baptisme, that wee then vndertake in our owne names, and remem-  
bring the conflict wee haue vndertaken, we come for an addition of new forces, in Baptisme wee are regenerate to life, but in confirmation wee are strengthened to bat-  
taile: memorialls to this are not, nor are not to be thought needlesse, for many know they haue names, who little remember that they are Baptised, but whom the Church on earth hath once receaued to bee her children, she ceaseth not to pursue with fauours and helps, vntill she deliuereth them to their father, which is in heauen.

19 *Burialls* are heathnish, and superstitious, either in meet-  
ing the dead bodie with praiers, mourners, and such like.

It is well bebecoming that hope which wee haue of the *Resurrection*, and in this the living receaue profit, though the dead doe not. Wee esteeme the bodies of the faithfull, as sometimes the vessells of the holie Ghost, wee hold them fit to bee layd vp, not to bee cast away, and though they are not lost but sent before vs, yet wee sadlie lament our want, and their absence, though our vehementlie wee mourne not as those that had no hope, we may wish for them, because they are not with vs, but not too much lament for them, because they are with God. This stoicall age, need not this doctrine, it is sinne to forget that wee are *friends*, and christians.

Non amissi  
sed premissi  
fulgent.  
Disperandi  
sunt vt absen-  
tes non de-  
plorandi vt  
mortui.

20 *The*

20 The Priest praierh for the Prince, and the people answer of another matter.

That praier which wee offer vp for that power vpon earth which doth rule ouer vs, if the people answer with this voice (*and mercifully beare vs when wee call vpon thee*) is no fault to bee done, and peraduenture were a fault not to bee done. Little things will offend them, who can bee so curious to mislike this.

21 Crossing in Baptisme Popish.

And yet to Baptise vsing the signe of the Crosse is not popish. Wee are not of their mind who thinke the crosse whereupon Christ suffered was like *Pirhagoras* letter, neither is this crossing a sacrament though it put vs in mind of our manfull fight vnder the banner of Christ crucified, wee vse it not as bestowing a grace vpon vs but thankfullic remembring what was done for vs: a *Signe* that may be vsed amisse, wee can forbear if it please the Church, but in the meane time wee can and doe vse it with obedience, beecaue wee doe know how.

22 That all may bee saued, all traouailing by land, or by water.

It were pittie but their mouthes were stoppt who forbid vs to pray that all men may bee saued. It is the revealed will of God; and although wee know that all are not, yet beecaue wee know not exactly who are, and that our desire is extended without exclusion, equally to all, in that sence, as our sauiour willeth, so wee wish and desire, that all men *may bee saued*; for those that trauell if a blessing come vpon them, whilst they trauel to good ends by land, or by water (and this for our prayer) the church hath an interest by the communion of *Sauours*; if they trauel to euil ends, and finde successe, this mentie serueth to make them better; and therefore as wee pray that God would strike through the loynes of those who rise vp against him and against his annoynted; so whilst wee know not definitiue-ly who are such, Indefinitly wee pray for his defence, to all those (*which trauell by land or by water*) whose *politic* respects, or Gods revealed will particularly forbid not, ther

Charitie commandeth for to pray for all.

23 Bells and Organs are from Popes.

To refuse them for that reason were rather mallice then wisdom: for seeing the one calleth by the sound the people to the Temple, the other by sounding, furthereth the prayse of God in the temple, it is not their author, that can be a reason to make vs mislike either: they ayme at some other end whom so harmelesse inuentions can so much displease. *That wee worthy lamenting our finnes, may obtaine of thee perfect remissions* they tell vs not in this, what they doe mislike, and therefore wee will accept of their gentle allowance, wherein they say *this requireth a fauorable exposition, & that the words were well ment, as they were appointed for vs.*

In the Collect  
for the first day  
of Lent.  
Regist. Pag.

82

24 On Christmas day it is said thou hast giuen vs thy Sonne this day to bee borne of a Virgin, the same words wee use all the weeke after, as if Christ vpon euery day, had bene borne a new.

I hope It is not the memorie of his Natiuitie that doth displease them: If this day, when perhaps it was not, be that which in this they do mislike, the Church tyeth no man to so strict an acception of this day, as if it were ment this verie particuler day, but that it may without offence, bee vnderstood of the solemnitie of that feast, if they haue learned to think and to speake otherwise, wee haue no such custome, neither the Church of God.

25 Scripture openly abaseth to shew a necessitie of Baptisme from that place (except a man be borne againe of water and of the Spirit.)

Wee hope a necessitie they will not deny of Baptisme and if this place bee not sufficient to proue it, wee will be readie to afford them other if this be that which offends them, our interpretation of another haue told them concerning this, (wherein their negatiue is all that is alledged) that in expositions of Sacred Scripture, where a litterall construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst.

What wee pray for shal stand when wee say remember not  
O Lord



*O Lord our offences nor the offences of our forefathers,*  
 No, but because God punisheth temporallie sonnes  
 even for the iniquities and transgressions of their fathers:  
 as the infants in the flood, & in Sodom (which they well  
 knew who asked our Sauour (who *had sinned this man or* Iohn. 9.  
*his father*) and that wee goe on for the most part to fill vp  
 the measure of our fathers sinnes, which must fall heauie  
 vpon vs, when it commeth with a double force, therefore  
 not for them but our selues wee say: *Remember not O Lord*  
*our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers.*

27 *Out of the Collect vpon Saint Michaels day, prayer is*  
*made for the help of Angells.*

And why not? doth any man think that they doe not  
 help vs (beeing ministring spirits?) and seeing he hath gi-  
 uen his Angells charge ouer vs, may not wee pray to haue  
 their assistance: wee onely aske them as Christ, *thinkst*  
*thou that I cannot pray to my father, and hee will giue mee* Math. 26. 53.  
*then twelue legions of Angells.*

If any thing beo misliked becsides these, (these being  
 but small occasions of so great a difference) our Church  
 doubtlesse hath many which are able and wilbe willing,  
 to giue them what satisfaction they can demaund:  
 but if it offend them beecause it is auncient, or so-  
 lemne, or sober, or charitable, wee are sory for  
 their weaknesse, but wee had rather of-  
 fend them, then the whole  
 Church of God.





## CHAP. XIII.

*¶ Of Tolleration of diuers Religions and how far dissenting opinions from the true Christian faith may and ought to bee permitted in one and the same kingdome.*



Here are few kingdomes in the world which haue not at some times diuersities of religion nourished and brought vp in the bosome of them: for the enuious man whilst others sleep, is watchfull and diligent to sow Tares: & these vsually either in mercie, or for their nearenesse, to that which is good, are suffered to grow, till the time of harvest. If naturall bodies of men either had no diseases, or that rest were not sometimes auailable to procure their health, *Wisdom* were a vertue in Phisitions of little vse, and vndoubtedly *patience* would bee thought *Sloth*. But seeing the eyes of counsell in all euills that are, looke not so much what they be, as what they may bee: and that the best perfection which humane indeuours doe, or can receiue, is from that leysurable maturitie, that times affoord, (moments and instants being onely fit either for powres infinit, or for weaknesse that is furthest from them) all  
men

men haue asmuch reason not ouer hastily to censure what the wisest doe, as the wisest haue warrant and example, not ouer hastily to performe what they doe intend. Few doe or can doubt, but that the foundation of all happinesse to a realme is true religion: it is the wals of defence to the greatest kingdomes, *Princes haue their best securitie* from this, both for Crowne and Scepter, and their aduersaries shall all faile, in the iustice of the highest, that doe rise against it. The power how to ordaine that worship which God requireth and man oweth ( which wee call Religion) is neither in our weakenesse to inuent, nor being taught and instructed in it, haue wee willingnesse or strength to yeeld an outward obedience without lawes. As the care then of this in all kingdomes chiefly concerneth the Prince, so the best enterance and assurance to the well performing of this dutie, is the sanctification of of the Lords *Rest*. Without this, the slumber of peace shall bee no prosperitie, health shalbe but a sweet poison to make vs distaste what doubtlesse would be better for vs, and in the end, the felicitie of such states, shall but resemble the grasse vpon the house top which withereth before it be pulled vp, and their faire day shalbee suddenlie ouer cast, or concluded and shut vp, with a blacke and a long night. Where it is easie to erre, seldome doe men looke at vices with so much seueritie, as where it is not: custome haucing both the Priuiledge of a multitude to bee without shame, and the lenitie of a pardon, because few men think it a dutie to bee honest, where the most are not, or that to bee an offence in one, which is the fault of all.

Now the persons of men being swaied many times to error, by lighter occasions then meere fancie, and all men desiring a Religion, yet most carelesse of the meanes that doe lead vnto it, and nothing surer to finde more resistance, then that counsell that crosseth *affection* or custome: it must bee a consideration of great consequence, to further (by an absolute vnitie) the true Religion: no examples being suffered that doe lead from it, and all men to

bee truelie taught, that they neither can with happinesse want this, nor without miserie think this to bee any other, sauing onelie one. But because all men traduse (euen without respect of nature) that deuotion which they see in others, who looke not the same way that they doe, it shall not bee amisse, to consider, who, and what they are, that vsuallie dissent in religion in any kingdome. And from the Prince and the state, what *fauour, tolleration, or respect* is to bee had towards them: for seeing all men (though their *Religion* bee false) haue reason both to loue, and to bee earnest for the religion which they professe, it cannot bee in a realme where diuers stand diuersly affected towards this, but that all wil looke with a iealous eie at the state, and either obtaine or procure equall freedome of that which they call their conscience, to themselves, or complain as suffering a harder persecution, and parauenture bee readie when oportunitie shall serue, to become *Traitors*. But because euen the most absolute *Monarchs*, haue not an vndependant libertie, to incline with mercie towards these in this case, as much and as far as their princely *Grace* could bee content to yeeld: it shall not bee amisse for the satisfaction of those, who importune & hope for fauour in this kinde, if wee let them vnderstand, who they are that doe hold diuersitie of opinion, concerning Religion in any kingdome, and what fauour and tolleration may and ought by the Prince to bee graunted toward them.

And because wee haue heard, the greatest Prince in the world tell vs, that Kings are *Physitions* in this kind, wee may safely resolute that where *Patients & Diseases* are not all one, ther the remedie & the cure is not all alike. There may be in a kingdome (for we are not now to speake either of *Hippocriss*, or open prophane persons) *Heathē, Idolatours, Heretickes*, those that erre and faile in some points of Religion publickly professed in that state, and lastlie vpriight and true Christians. Toward all these (if all happen to bee in one kingdome) as parauenture *Poland* can tell they are) the state is to carry a diuers respect, both for  
the

the curing of them that are thus sicke, and for the safeguard of those that are yet whole.

*Heathens* or *Infidels* wee call them who professe not at all the Christian Faith, as *Jewes* and *Turks*; *Idolators* such as haue in doctrine and worship *Superstitiously* fallen backe, from the true Religion of *Christ*: in place whereof either *Saints*, or reliquies, haue a great part of that honor which is due vnto God onelie, such are a great number of the Church of *Rome*; these vsuallie wee call by the name of *Papists*, and so wee must tearme them in this Chapter. *Hereticks* are they who strike through the verie foundation of religion, and directlie gainsay some article of our faith, and are or haue beene condemned, by some generall counsell, as *Arrians*, *Eunomians*, *Serapetians*, *Anabaptists*, and such like. Yet in these all are not alike, some beeing *Seducers*, and others by them simplie seduced. The next are those that erre, beeing or seeming to bee infected with some errour, but such a one as yet is not condemned as an heresie: as betwixt the *Lutherans* and the *Zwinglyans*, about the *Sacrament*, both holding each other to erre, whereas neither sentence as yet hath bene lawfullie condemned. To these may bee referred all those erroneous opinions, which take not away the foundation of faith. Lastlie those whom the Prince knoweth to be ver-  
tuous, and sound: not infected with any heresie or error, a seuerall respect is fit to be carried toward all these.

Concerning the *Jewes* a Prince may lawfullie permit them to dwell in his Kingdome, and to traffick in it, so that marriages with Christians, communicating with their religion and all nearer familiaritie betwixt such, bee denied vnto them: these were the limitations which were set betwixt them and the heathen, by the law of *Moses*, the lawes of *Emperours* haue permitted the like; some of the fathers but especiallie *S. Austin*, was so fauourable toward them, that hee alledgeth seuerall reasons, for the doing of it; first that aboue others they had the promise of *Saluation*, and though their case bee lamentable, yet it is not desperate, for euen at this present, there is a remnant

according

according to the election of Graces, for God is able to graft them in againe. For I would not brethren that you should bee ignorant of this secret, least ye should bee arrogant in your selues, that partly obstinacie is come to Israel, vntill the fulnesse of the Gentils bee come in; for that prayer sayth Saint Austin, was made for them: *Slay them not least my people forget it, but scatter them abroad among the people, & put them downe O Lord our defence.* There cannot bee doubtlesse (and so they are dispersed in most kingdomes) better objects to consider the iustice & the mercie of God, then they are. Iustice to them, mercie to vs: and that wee vnlesse wee repent, wee shall likewise perish. But concerning the permission of Sinagogues vnto them, all men are not of one minde: seeing dayly in them blasphemies are vttered against our sauour Christ; yet wee doubt not to affirme, that these may be graunted with some cautions, as onely to reade the Scriptures, and to pray; but not to teach, where the reason for them, and the *Turks* to haue Temples, is not all one: seeing these both haue the promise, Call vpon God, reade the Byble, but the *Turks* doe not. If Kings for intollerable exactions, as hurtful to their state, banish them out of their realines, it is lawfull, and yet if otherwise they permit them, surely in neither they offend God. Charitie ought to make vs carefull to instruct them in the way of truth, but vnwillingly wee dare not compell either them, or their children, to be Baptised.

The next are Idolatours, to whom wee denie not, but permission if it please the state, may lawfullie bee graunted to liue amongst vs. Yet even these with the same limitation as the former were, neither that wee communicate in their Idolatrie, nor bee of too great a familiaritie and nearnesse with them, nor bee suffered (as some thinke) with such to contract marriage, for seeing the Infection of Idolatrie creepeth as a contagious disease, and that all neere conuersing, must gaine at length, if wee cannot alter them, an approbation or tolleration of what they like, it is not euer safe (though to permit them in a kingdome) yet to conuerse any neerer with them, then with meere strangers

Concil 4. To-  
let. sub Hono-  
rio primo.  
can. 56.  
De Cret. dist.  
45. can. 5.

strangers. But I see not how this can be the opinion of those men, who thinke it vnlawfull to shun the plague. But we thinke not as they doe, who hold it lesse safe to haue any nearenesse with an Idolatrous Church, than with *Turkes* or *Iewes*. Imitating the blindnesse of the *Israelites* in times past, which had the *Iewes* in greater detestation, than the *Idumeans*, the *Egyptians* or the *Assyrians*; but the wrath of God, was kindled against them for this sinne, and the comparision betwixt these, is not all one, where the distance from true Religion is not all alike. Now a greater question, concerning Idolatours is this, *Whether a Prince may tolerate and graunt Churches to Idolatours for Idolatrous worship?* One of the best learned in our age, *Zanchin* in decal. pag. 727. thinketh that to say, it might, so that they abstaine from blasphemous Doctrine, and Idolatrous worshippe, were in his opinion not to aunswere ill; but seeing the custody of both the tables, is committed by God vnto vertuous Kings, and that pure Religion, is or ought to be, the principall part of their care; seeing they beare the sworde of authoritie to make such to feare as doe euill; and that few euils are worse than Idolatry, we say it is not lawfull to permit Churches to Idolatours, but rather to ouerthrowe their Idols, & superstitious worship; yet not their *Tēples*, but to conuert them to a holy and a better vse, a duetic surely well performed as it hath and shall be the honor, and happinesse of vertuous Kings, so it is not a worke to bee permitted to the audacious, violent, and vnruely multitude. Neither doe we thinke all ouerthrowing of Idolatrous Temples to be vnlawfull, seeing those which vertuoussly Constantine the great did only shut, and Iulian afterward did set open, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* did worthely pull downe.

Deut. 17. 18, 19

It was fatall *To Davids house*, *Salomons* promission of two religions; and we will require no better testimonie to disprove this, thā the eloquent oration of the league, to the King of *France*; a speech surely as fit for vs if either there were daunger or feare of so much euill. *Tour c. Maestie* (saith bee) looking into the memorie of things past, may suffici-

But we pleade not as that harlot before *Salomon*, diuidatur. All or none. pag. 117. Hecur. 3.



ently perceine, that as long as France hath been united vnder one Christiā religio, she hath made her glory & renown spread through all countries: she hath caused her valour in armes to be proued & felt in all places of the world, she hath alwaies been victorious ouer all the enemies of Catholicke religion and hath done so many honorable actions, and atchined so great and happy conquests against Infidels, that it was such glory among the Asians, Africans, Indians, Persians, Tartarians, Moores, Sarrazins and others, that all the Christians in Europe by them are called Frenchmen, for that because those strange Nations, haue only felt the armes of Frenchmē, they haue also cōprehended all the Latin Churches vnder the name of France & Frenchmē. But since France hath been diuided and rent with two Religions, let vs see how much it hath lost of her auncient renown, she that commanded a great part of Europe, that cōquered countries far distant frō her, that at her only name, made diuers warlike nations to tremble, is found since this vnhappy and vnfortunat diuision, so be reduced into such extremity, that in the middle of her brest, she hath receiued forraigne powers, she hath in a manner receined the law of her neighbours, and of her enemies: & that cruel turning her sword against her own Intrailes: & although she was Inuincible in respect of all other Natiōs, she is now her self so Imbased, vanguardised & overthrown, which is the fruit that this venomous plant of new opinion hath Induced which seemeth to be at the poynt ready to giue more dangerous thrusts, if according to the expectation which we all haue conceined of your wisdom & piety, it please not your Maestty, speedely to take order therein; much more was vttered to this effect showing the opinion which they haue for any Tolleratiō of diuers religions, which since some of thē in other places haue been well content earnestly to sollicite that they might obtaine, it was the error of S. Austin, to thinke that men by violence ought not to be cōpelled to the faith. But after seing many cities of the *Donatists* conuerted by the Imperiall lawes, and returning to the true Church, he thought severity fit to be vsed, where lenity, and mercy would doe no good. The next are Heretikes who are neither simple Infidels, nor Idolatours, but obstinately erring in some fundamental point, these neither faile all alike nor fall all at once For the beginnings to slide in this case are easie, & thought to be without dāger, whereas in the end it is deadly, & such proue Apostataes frō the whole Church.

*The Arrians & the Nouatians* the one denying the diuinitie of Christ, the other *Repentance* vnto those that sin, were not both a like dangerous, although both by the Church were condemned as Hereticks. *S. Cyprians* opinion, & some other in Africa, who held such as were Baptised by Hereticks, that they ought to be Baptized againe, and some peraduenture amongst vs, whose errors concerning our Church, are not lesse dangerous, are to be respected by the Magistrate in a different manner, from such Heresies as *Arians* held; with these, perswasions & conferences are to be vsed, after which if they continue obstinate, Excommunication (the censure of the Church) is to cut them off, wherein notwithstanding to auoide tumults if their number were dangerous, like the *Nouatians* in *S. Chrysostomes* time, It were lawfull & conuenient for the Governours of the Church to be at peace with them, the ecclesiasticall authoritie ayming at this scope, rather to build than to pull downe. Concerning the fourth which only doo, or seeme to erre, in some point, that cometh not so far to be thought an heresie, doublelesse a greater moderation is befitting such, and violent condemnations are vnlawfull, vntill both haue bene heard with indifferēt tryal. Inuectiues, alienations of minde, partaking & such like are both scandalous to the Church, enemies to peace, and in the end are little auailable to find the truth. It were fit al to be of one mind vntill more warrantable proceedings might resolue our doubts; let vs therefore as many as be perfect be thus minded, & if ye be otherwise minded, God shal reueile euē the same vnto you & after this whosoever he is that seeketh further, hauing found a truth, laboureth but with paines to inuēt an error. Their diligence if it were vpright, the church cold not refuse; of whom now it is like theē may say (as one doth of the accusers of *Priscillian*) *their desire to ouerthrowe Heretikes*, I could not reprehend, if they had not contended more, thā was fitting to ouercōe; What mildnes they haue vsed, we take it as the speech of the *Donatists*, who as *S. Austin* reporteth, said they wold not be cruel, but I think they could not no mā cōfēteth that beaſt meekest which hurteſh not, becauſe teeth & claws are denied him; but

The Reformer  
boaste of 1000  
hands. Danger  
pos, pag. 137.

Phil. 3. 15.  
Quisquis post  
veritatem reper-  
it aliquid vlti-  
us discuti, mē-  
daciū querit.  
Quorū studiū in  
expugnandis he-  
reticis non repre-  
henderem, si  
non studio vince-  
di plus quam o-  
portuit certasse.  
Sulp. Sever. Epi.  
27.  
Senire se nolle a-  
liquando Dona-  
tista diceba-  
nt, ego vero  
non potuisse ar-  
bitror. Aug.  
Nulla lesia si  
neminē vulnerat  
mansuetudine,  
quia dentes &  
ungues non ha-  
bet.

if any man be ignorant, and desire to know, what courses haue beene taken with these men whom we cannot defend and the state of our Church hath supposed to erre; whilst ouer eagerly they haue sought a Reformatiō of some things we are content for defence of our selues, in not yeelding to all which they demanded of vs, and most earnestly frō the purified example of some other Church, to let them know, that the Church of England, being to enner into a consideration of those lawes, which were thought fit to bee altered, concerning matter of Religion, knew by experience both at home, and abroad, that howsoeuer the best humane lawes haue much imperfection annexed to them, yet ouer great or ouerspeedy alteration, could neither argue much wisdom, nor be thought safe. For to alter lawes of continuāce and especially in this kinde, must needs with the common sort, Impaire and weaken the force of those grounds whereby lawes are esteemed to haue greatest strength. For if we haue neither voyce from heauen (the ground of the first alteration in the Apostles time) that pronounceth them fit to be thus chaunged; neither sentence of wise men, built vpon manifest euil; nor cleare prooffe that they in whose hands it is to alter them, may likewise infallibly euen in hart and conscience iudge them so; vpon necessitie to vrge alteration, is without necessitie, to trouble and to weaken the whole state. But such is the lot of all that deale in publike affaires, whether of Church or commonwealth, that which men list to surmise of their doings, be it good or ill, they must before hand, arme their minde to indure it with much patiēce. Now if it were a fault in the Church of *Rome*, through a loue to some thing that is harmles, obstinately to maintaine what is not lawfull; had it not been an Imputation to our church frō the dislike of those things, which were neither warrantable, nor iust, to proceede to an alteration of such, as in the iudgement of the best vndoubtedly were both. But when experience shal haue showed the seuerall fruits of both kinds of reformatiō, as well moderate with vs, as violent rigorous and extreame in other Churches, it is the voice of truth wil expresse it selfe, euen from their consciences; *we are they that*  
*have*

*haue hindered the happinesse of the Church of England; for the way of peace haue we not knowne.* In the meane while not to aduise those, whose authoritie is powerfull, and their wisdom excellent, wee canne but with suspence of iudgement, and exercise of charitie, to those that doe thinke otherwise, adutie much safer and seemelier for Christian men, than the ouer hote, and violent pursuit, of these controuersies, wherein they that are most feruent to dispute, be not alwaies the most able to determine; now for the last of those which we tearmed professours of Religion in a sound manner, as honor and respect is their merit, so doubtlesse in this Kingdome at this time if they be humble, obedient, and patient, they can want neither.

*Thus much we haue written, not that we take vpon vs either to prescribe vnto the Prince what he may, or to direct the State what they ought to performe in this case, but plainly to deliuer our owne weake opinion which very willingly in all humilitie we submit to the Censure of this Church.*



*An humble conclusion, to his Sacred Maiestie  
and the right Honorable Lords of his Highnes  
pruie Counsell together with the rest whom  
it may concerne to defend this Church*

CHAP. V.

**I**T is not the least happines to a king-  
dome (if it be not of temporal felicitie  
ties the greatest) to haue a King eue-  
ry way so inabled, that euerie mans  
particular case is like enough to  
come to his particular view; for na-  
ture hath made all men to beare with  
greater moderatiō that done, which  
proceedeth from those who doe and ought to gouern, than  
frō others; & grace (euen that grace that cometh frō aboue)  
hath inspired a greater feeling of each mans particular want  
& a better vnderstanding of some mens eminent worthines  
than can be expected from those (how wise soeuer) who act  
but the parts of politieke men, in the habits of obedient and  
moderate aduisers, where it is like no man will be ouerfor-  
ward to benefit any private man too much, seeing the com-  
mendation of whatsoeuer is well done must of necessitie be  
equally diuided amongst many; neither hath vertue (howe  
well soeuer deseruing) in all kingdomes, found alwaies that  
equal fauour at vertuous mens hands, which both she might  
haue expected & in reason was due vnto her, because a timor-  
ous disposition in al, maketh euerie man feare, that nothing  
can be added to another mans greatnes, which must needs  
serue at the length, to make his seeme lesse, because of lesse  
vse; Now the greatest burden vpon earth (*Gracions and right  
Honorable*) (next the burden of a troubled conscience) lyeth  
(as ye well know) vpon his shoulders who gouerneth a Na-  
tion, rich, wise, valiant and by reason of all these peraduen-  
ture

ture proud, surely howsoever wisemen haue thought all authoritie a care (because many must of necessitie want many helps) both to relieue things past, to satisfie things present, & to preuent things to come; (which no man without care can doe, and few with it,) yet surely ouer those who are either *simple, or poore, or seruile, or cowardly*, the gouernment cannot be troublesome, seeing he commandeth those ouer whom a litle reason is much, & weaknes & feare haue denied the libertie to examine what is well or ill done; this alone made that easie passage of the *Portingales* and the *Spaniards* into the *Indias*, which against a nation of lesse wealth, or circuit, furnished with more vnderstanding, had doubtles been vnpossible, if the forces of both kingdomes had been vnited; such is the willingnes to resist in the defence of auncient libertie, where the reason of man by ciuill education, hath power to discern the qualitie of that which it doth defende. But in those who are of a contrarie nature, & will dare to do much because they would seeme not to vnderstand little, there to take a Crowne, is to take a heauie burdē, & to gouerne is to rule men, where euerie particular danger of moment must haue a remedie, vnlesse they will hazard by the contempt of some few, the ruine of the whole state; this consideration made *Dioclesian*, (who was neither the best nor the happiest that euer gouerned) thinke truely, *that there was nothing harder than to rule well*. For if they shall either commit all to others (which no King whose Nation was happie euer did) or take all vpon themselves, in both they shall finde (if not equall) yet the like, certaine, & vnresistable danger, therefore well said *Saturninus* to those that put on his kingly ornaments; *friends, ye know not what an euil it is to rule, many dangers hang ouer our heads*; for where in other cases feare maketh men watch, in this men vsually feare those that watch ouer them. I know not a better securitie in this for the kingdom (God make vs all thankfull that it hath beene our happines) than a good Prince, nor for the Prince than a good Counsell, nor for all, than profitable and religious lawes. These only are left vpon earth from men to be the strength and supporters to those that Rule ouer greate Kingedomes.

It

Lib. 12. *Annal.*

*Raro eminentes  
viros non magnis  
adiutoribus ad  
gubernandam  
fortunam suam  
vix inuenies.  
Velleius patere.*

*Dionis. Halycar.  
lib. 2.*

*Senec. de Benef.  
lib. 16. cap. 32.*

*Tacit. lib. 4. Hist.  
Decas patris.*

It is true which *Tacitus* saith, that the most weightie labours of a Prince stand in need of the greatest helps; therefore as tyrants in all ages haue loathed nothing so much as good counsaile, bestowing the greatest honors & riches (the iust recompence of vertue) vpon the worst persons (whose vices serued only to make them forget theselues and to ruinate the kingdome ouer which they gouerned) (so the best & wisest, haue euer made choise of such, as were fit to be eies, & eares; nay tongues & hands, all to be employed for the common good; for seldome (saith one) shall we see great men, not to haue the assistance of great Counsaile; to gouerne a great fortune; nay there cannot be in a Prince, a greater argument of wisdom nor a greater safetieto the Church and the common-wealth, than in making his choice of a wise Councill; some are of opinion that the chiefeest reason why *Rome* florished so long, was principally this, because they that gouerned her followed not their owne, but the Counsaile of the whole *Senate*. Neither saith *Augustus*, could any of these things (meaning the troubles of his house that break out) haue happened vnto me, if *Agrippa*, or *Macenas* (two wise Counsellours) had now liued; for doubtles there is not a better instrument of a happie kingdome than a wise and vertuous Counsellour, who not vnfitly may be tearmed (as *Tacitus* calleth him) the ornament of peace. Surely no lesse necessarie to a state that would florish, than the soule to a bodie that would liue. The consideration of this happines at this time maketh both the Church & the Commonwealth (dread Soueraigne & right honorable Lords) to cast themselues at your feet, and to lay open before your eyes; the daungers which they feare (without your gracious assistace) may fall vpon them. And howsoeuer many other things of vse & moment, are like wheelles in this kingdome, to sturre at your Honors motion, yet Religion it selfe, in the habit of the Church, Religion that hath infinitely blest you; & this kingdome, doth earnestly intreat that against all her enemies, publike, or priuate, shee may rest, florish and be fruitfull, by your meanes; and howsoeuer the Common-wealth may now be an humble suppliâr for redresse of those grieuances that



that offend her, yet aboue all other the Church had most cause to feare, that the time of a second consultation, either through violence importunitie and sleight, might haue beene fatall to her, or that the contempt of his voyce in the dayes of peace, might haue in iustice, procured a scourge from the almightie to cause her to remember whom shee had despised; the seuerall times for all states (either to vse or to knowe their strength) are peace, and warre, and the two professions that are the safetie of both are the militarie and the gowne: It is no small care, nor wisdom for a Realme, to knowe when and with whom to fight, and to thinke not onely vpon defence (which were enough had it as much honor as safetie) but vpon victorie; surely in a kingdome carelesse of these men, the King may oftener fight than ouercome; and in his best successe peraduenture be more beholding to fortune, than to his good Counsaile; who surely of all other howsoeuer the warre be ended, is most innocent, and furthest from all blame, yet it is strange to see how all men lay the faults of their inconsiderate folly, rather vpon any thing than vpon themselves. So that ignorance of true causes, giuing the name to fortune, men are willing to hide that with obscuring the cause (calling it chaunce) which only proceeded from their want of Counsaile, which wheresoeuer it is, it leaueth no power either in peace or warre, vnto that which they call Fortune; I confesse sometime there is a higher cause (*that Iustice which our sins meritt*) which taketh strength from the best meanes, and maketh the errors of Princes & their Counsell, the foundation of publike calamities; but our purpose is not at this time to pleade for any other sauing onely for this Church; for the happinesse whereof it seemeth that good lawes heretofore haue not beene so much wanting to vs, as wee to them. In penall lawes surely there is the greatest wisdom, of those that make them, and the greatest presumption, of those that breake them; so that for the safetie of all states, but especially of the Church, there are few things of greater aduantage thā the seueritie of Iustice

in the strict execution of penall lawes; for it is strange that some inconueniences should first cause them seeme fit to be made, and no disorder make them seeme necessarie to be obserued; I thinke no other reason can be giuen but this, that those lawes doe hire men with halfe the allowance to be informers, which makes that good seruice to the commonwealth, only in that respect odious, as being not the effect of iustice, and zeale, but the vnconscionable desire of some couetous promoter, the best remedie in this, will be to referre the benefit of these, to some publike vse (for it is meete that vertue be maintained from the penaltie of vice) and that such be seruants to the state in the executiō of these lawes, as are furthest from partialitie and pittie, & yet least to be suspected for vn-satiabie desiring of their own gaine. But there is a greater defect in most kingdomes, (wherein this Church is an humble suter to your *Hightnesse*) that it would please your Grace (a thing absolutely hoped for at your Maiesties hands) as well to reward those that deserue well, as to punish those that are dangerous to the Church or the commonwealth; doubtlesse there is no politike consideration of greater vse, in a kingdome, that all parts of it may flourish, than the iust bestowing of these two, *reward and punishment*; seeing they are the spurte and the bridle; absolutely requisit for the right commanding of a whole Realme. And surely it is a great question, whether to the happinesse of a state it be safer to want punishment for the euill, or rewards for the vertuous; But seeing all kingdomes haue greater feeling, and can better iudge of what is euill than well done, therefore *punishments* are by the lawe due to the one, whereas the other is many times a matter of great suit, fauour, and sometimes of infinite corruption, which the best and most worthy obseruing, they are in al likelihood furthest from being preferred, because least subiect to such corruption. It was an Honorable farewell the last *Deamry* that was giuen by Queene *Elizabeth*: *Honorable* to him that procured it freely (as I heard) of his owne motion; *Honorable* to him that had it without al corruptiō (neither in acquitting of him do I condemn al others) and most *Honorable* to her, who no sooner heard of a man

worthy

worthy but was most willing to preferre him: There are few things of a greater aduantage to the Church, than to haue the eyes of the Prince (if sometimes his occasions diuert him otherwise) drawne to looke at men of very speciall and singular deserte: who peraduenture are neither so corrupt, so fortunate, so seasonable, so well frended, nor indeed so any thing (sauing only worthy) that they can obtaine that, which men of farre meaner deserts (if not easily) yet commonly doe. And surely for vs of the Church there is not out of the Vniuersitie (excepting the Kings Chappell) a better stand for the nobilitie, to take vew of such, than the *Sermons at Pauls Crosse*: this being sincerely lookt at, vertue shall haue encouragment to take paines, because vertuous paines shall be sure to haue recompence: a thing, where it wanteth that want must of necessitie fill all places with the worst, and the worst disposed. So shall men that are worthy, and very excellent, be preferred either slowly, or not at all, whilst euery ignorant, vn honest, vnprofitable flatterer, shall depart loaden with the best preferments, (the due recompence that belongs to vertue:) for redresse whereof I dare not take vpon me to aduise, only I wish that they (especially the Honorable and reuerend *Bishops*, Fathers of the Church) who haue any stroake, in the disposition of such preferments, as appertaine vnto learned men, would be thinke themselues, what it is to respect any thing, either aboue or besides merit, considering (as one well noteth) how hardly the world taketh it, when to men of commendable note and qualitie, there is so little respect had; or so great vnto them whose deserts are very meane, that nothing doth seeme more straunge, than the one sort because they are not accounted of, and the other because they are; It being euery mans hope, and expectatiō that the only purchase of greater rewards should be alwaies greater deserts, & that nothing should euer be able to plā a thorne, where a vine ought to growe, or to commit that to a Fox, or an Asse, which requireth the strength & the toyle of the painful Ox: the careful obseruatiō of this, (which the Church humbly intreateth at your Graces hands) shal roote out all

Master Hooker

Idolotours from your lands; banish all Heretikes from Christs sold, which steale in like rauenous wolues; discover those Anabaptists who stirre vp contentions to hinder Religion, labour to haue magistrates contemned, inueying against the lawfull ordination of our Clergie, accounting them to be but *Scribes* and *Pharises*, Idle, haue too great liuings: flatterers of the Ciuill Magistrate, saying the reformation of the Church, is not spirituall enough & perfect, and their vnhalloved & priuate conuenticles are more holy, making their pretence of all, the puritie of the Gospell; these pretend grauitie, reprehend seueritie, speake gloriously; and all in *Hypocrisie*; these dayly inuent new opinions, and run from error, to error: their wilfulnes they account constancie, their deserued punishment persecution; their mouthes are euer open to speake euill; they giue neither reuerence, nor titles, to any in place aboue them; in one word the Church cannot feare a more dangerous and fatall enimie to her peace and happines, a greater cloud to the light of the Gospell, a stronger hand to pull in Barbarisme, and pouertie, into all our Land, a more furious monster, to breed contempt, and disobedience in all states; a more fretting Cankar to the very marrowes and sinewes of this Church, and kingdom, than the *Anabaptist*; who is proud without learning, presumptuous without authoritie, Zealous without knowledge, holy without Religion; in one word a dangerous and malicious *Hypocrite*, Sundrie of these manifest and violent disturbers of the peace of this Church and the Common-wealth, were banished from amongst vs in the dayes of our late Souereigne, we heare they are returned; they make petitions, they hope for fauour. Consider (great and mightie Prince) (right Honorable Lords and all yee whom it may concerne to defend this state) that now is the time to make and execute lawes against them: for these are more dangerous than other *Heretikes*, because they are transformed into the shapes of some amongst vs; *The Church of England*, which lyeth prostrate at your Graces feet, desireth not to be fauoured in her errors, not to haue

haue her corruptions warranted by authoritie, to haue  
 staines not washed, because shee hath had them long:  
 to haue idolatrie and superstition harbored in her bosome:  
 to be loadē in her Religiō with the inuentions of man and  
 vnhalowed Ceremonies, to be supported with a prophane  
 Hierarchie, an vsurping dominion: to bee poysoned with  
 humane learning, to be murdered with Idle, and vnprea-  
 ching Ministers; but she humbly intreats, (showing her  
 wounds, with teares in her eyes, sighs in her hart, humi-  
 litie in her whole behauiour) that she may be defended, pro-  
 tected, and armed in that truth, which Christ and his Apo-  
 stles haue taught her; which *Queene Elizabeth* hath Cheri-  
 shed & maintained in her: which the earth hath wondered  
 at, & heauens haue blessed; that her beautie may not be de-  
 faced vnder pretence of washing: that she may not be  
 left naked of her comely, decent, and Religious ceremonies:  
 that the gouernment of her Bishops, (auncient, warranta-  
 ble, and safe,) may not be taken from her; that her schooles  
 may flourish with all sacred, and Heathen learning: that her  
 Ministers may be painefull and liberally maintained; and  
 last of all, that the Liturgie, so vertuous, so holy, for  
 which so many Martyrs of hers haue dyed, restored in the  
 dayes of King *Edward*, continued in the grations and hap-  
 pie dayes of *Queene Elizabeth*, may by your Princely au-  
 thoritie (seeing all the learned of your kingdome are rea-  
 die in the defence of it) be strongly and *unresistably* main-  
 tained against her enemies; so shall we account it a second  
 birth day to our countrie: a day of grace and saluation  
 wherein God hath sworne by his holinesse that hee will  
 not faile you: and therefore to this ende hath preuented  
 you with the blessings of goodnesse and set a crowne of  
 pure gold vpon your head, a day wherein the Nations  
 that are round about vs, shall say as *Hiram* when hee  
 heard the words of *Salomon*; *blessed be the Lord this day*,  
 which hath giuen vnto *Dauid* a wife Sonne ouer this  
 mightie people; Vnto *Queene Elizabeth* an Heire of her  
 owne house and linage, full of Religion, wisdomē and  
 vnderstanding; so that we may truely say (as they did)

Pl. 83. 3.

Pl. 11. 3.

1. King. 5. 7.

Luke. 5. 26.

doubtlesse we haue seene straunge things *this day*: straunge to our countrie, to our selues, to our enemies, to haue neighbours, to our prosperitie; for which our harts burne within vs (and shall for euer with feruencie of deuotion for your highnesse safetie) our mouthes are filled with laughter, and our tongues with ioy; and we must needs confesse with the Prophet *Dauid*, *The Lord hath done great things for vs alreadie whereof we reioyce*; for which we intreate the heauens to reioyce with vs; the earth to be glad, and the Sea to make a noyse, and all that therein is, the compasse of the round World and they that dwell therein; for by this means innumerable benefits are common vnto them; to the Heauen a multitude of Saints, to the earth peace, to the Sea Treasure, to the fields plentie, for God hath broken the rod of the wicked, and the whole land is at rest: and surely if euer Natiō of the world had cause either to hope for happines to this Church and Commonwealth, or to giue thanks vnto the Lord, and to that ende to fall low vpon our knees before his footestoolle, it is we; to haue a King, but which is greater happinesse, of the same blood: nay more than that, of the same Religion: but most of all, without bloodshed, and especially (*Then*) when all the politikes of the world, had set our period, & rung our pasing Bell: euen thē by your Highnesse meanes the Lord himselfe (for we must al acknowledge that it was his worke) deliuered our soule from death, our eyes from teares, and our feet from falling: our soule from bodily, and spirituall death, our eyes from teares, arising from our daunger, (nay from our holy teares for our late Soueraigne:) & our feete from falling into troubles, which then were present: into sinne, which then was likely; into blindnesse which then we feared: into shame, which we all deserued: into misery, which many hoped: but we say againe the Lord hath done great things for vs alreadie: and greater, and far greater shall doe, if we be not vnthankfull: and therefore howsoeuer thou art, either *Iesuite*, or *Preeft*, *Anabaptist*, *Protestant*, or *Atheist*, which sayst in thy heart, *let vs make haucke of them altogether*, thou shalt sodianly consume and perish, and come to a fearefull ende: and the Church shall

shall continually intreate, at the hands of the Lord of hea-  
 uen, and humbly before the Throne of your gracious Maie-  
 stie, for protection against her, and all your aduersaries, say-  
 ing, *O deliuer not the soule of the Turtle Dove vnto the mul-  
 titude of the enemies, and forget not the congregation of the  
 poore for euer; looke vpon the couenant, for al the earth is full of* Pf. 79.  
*darkenesse and cruell habitations; O let not the simple goe away  
 ashamed, but let the poore and needy giue praise vnto thy  
 name: Arise (O God) maintaine thy own cause, re-  
 member how the foolish man blasphemeth thee daily:  
 forget not the voyce of thy enemy, the pre-  
 sumption of them that hate thee, increa-  
 seth euer more and more.*

Amen.

FINIS.

